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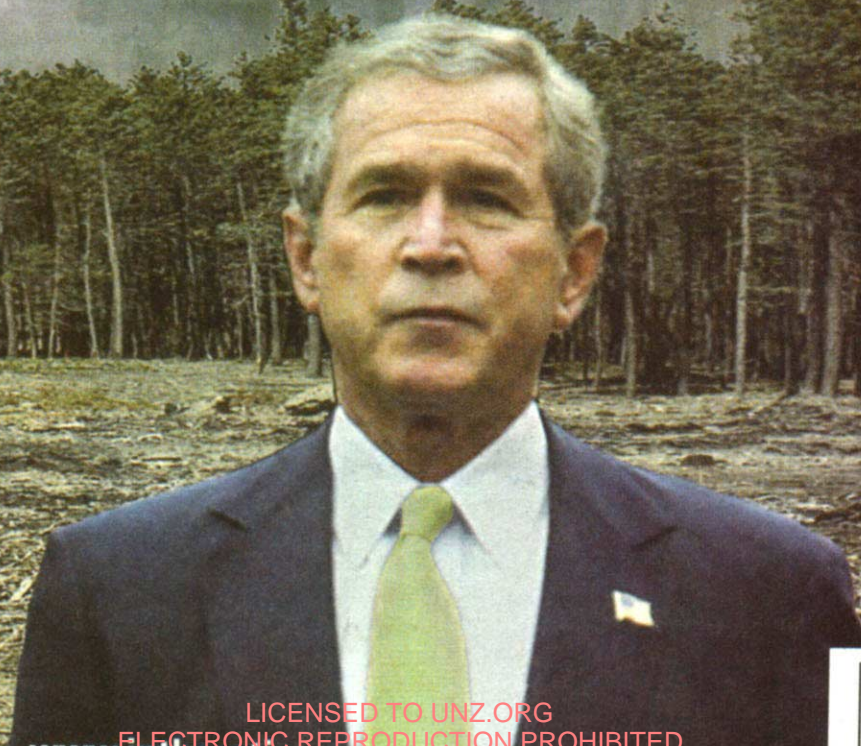
In These Times

INDEPENDENT NEWS & VIEWS

December 22, 2003

Healthy Forests, Clear Skies

Adam Werbach on Bush Lies



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Editorial

End the Silence

How does this sound?

By the 1880s, most Indians had been confined to reservations, often in areas of the West that appeared least desirable to white settlers.

Or this?

But the more the colony developed into a modern state with a strong military organization, the more the whites tended toward a policy of land annexing and the subjugation of the black population.

Or this?

Beijing's new policy of population transfer into Tibet threatens the very existence of Tibetan culture, religion and national identity.

Or, finally, this?

In the first decade of the 21st Century, the state launched a campaign to further isolate and disenfranchise the Palestinian population. In the Occupied Territories, the campaign included a wall that put nearly 15 percent of Palestinian territory on the Israeli side and encircled 12 Palestinian towns, making passage in and out dependent on the approval of the authorities.

The first three actual quotes describe campaigns in the United States, South Africa and China aimed at displacing and dominating indigenous populations. The paragraph that refers to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not yet entered into recorded history. But if a different story is to be told, Americans, both Jews and non-Jews, must end their silence about Israeli policies and the use of American aid to support the occupation.

Over the next three years, the United States will give Israel about \$18 billion in loan guarantees and military and economic aid. American Jews provide hundreds of millions in additional support that allows private agencies to build thousands of housing units for Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories. (Ironically, American money builds more affordable housing in the West Bank than in any of this country's largest cities.)

The conflict is careening toward a conclusion that may well include the destruction of the Palestinians as a people and the wreckage of the historic Jewish commitment to justice.

On November 14 in an interview with the

newspaper *Yedioth Aharonoth*, four former directors of Shin Bet, Israel's internal security service, called on Israel to end the occupation and to pursue a peace policy that would include negotiations with the Palestinians without first requiring an end to terrorism.

Avraham Shalom, head of Shin Bet from 1980 to 1986, put it this way: "[The Fence] creates hatred, it expropriates land and annexes hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to the state of Israel. The result is that the fence achieves the exact opposite of what was intended. ... We must once and for all admit that there is another side, that it has feelings and that it is suffering, and that we are behaving disgracefully. Yes, there is no other word for it: disgracefully. ... We have turned into a people of petty fighters using the wrong tools."

The statements of the former security chiefs, whose service covered the years 1980 to 2000, should reassure American Jews and others that opposing Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's hard-line policies is the best way to reduce the danger to Israelis and Israel.

We should not feel powerless in this situa-

Four former directors of Shin Bet, the internal security service, called on Israel to end the occupation.

tion. There are numerous paths to meaningful action. Ask your representatives in Congress to cut military aid to Israel. Redirect your charitable contributions to joint Arab-Jewish peace and development projects. Learn more about the situation by consulting sources that reject the occupation as the path to peace and security such as the Jewish Peace Lobby (www.peacelobby.org), B'Tselem (www.btselem.org) or Gush Shalom (www.gush-shalom.org), or, for a more secular perspective, try the Middle East Research and Information Project (www.merip.org).

If we do not act, who will? For Palestinians and Israelis alike, the situation is deteriorating. The Palestinian economy has collapsed. The Israeli economy is failing. Every index of social distress, including crime, homelessness and hunger, is climbing on both sides. If a meaningful peace is not established soon, the occupation will lead to even greater catastrophe.

—Jeff Epton

3 News

Randall Terry returns, Bush's military rhetoric and reality, and the not-so-jolly summit of Bush and Blair.

6 Appall-o-Meter By Dave Mulcahey

8 In Person By Brett Schaeffer

9 Viewpoint By Danny Postel

The selective solidarity of the left.

10 Looking Glass By Eleanor J. Bader

Bible gets girly makeover.

11 Power Pop By Ana Marie Cox

Fool us once, fool us twice.

12 The First Stone By Joel Bleifuss

Divide and conquer and First Lady fantasies.

Features

14 Liquidation of the Commons

By Adam Werbach
Healthy forests and clean skies, or more Bush lies?

17 The Candidates on the Environment

By Adam Werbach
How they rate.

18 Bioprospecting

By Jeff Shaw
Corporations profit from indigenous genes.

20 Manufacturing Discontent

By David Moberg
2.4 million lost factory jobs will make Bush work in 2004.

22 Tibet's Gamble

By Jehangir Pocha
Can the Dalai Lama's China talks succeed?

24 Anarchy in the U.S.A.

By Jefferson Decker
BOOKS: Eric Rauchway's *Murdering McKinley*.

26 Paradise Not

By William S. Lin
BOOKS: A Hawaiian quartet.

30 Patti Smith: Spit & Image

By Jody Kolodzey
MUSIC: Ach-ptooey, baby.



Beyond Black and White

As a longtime journalist now ensconced in academia, I always appreciate a good critique of racial bias in the media ("Racial Bias Still Haunts Media," November 17). As Salim Muwakkil reports, it is a perennial challenge that remains evermore complicated by the widespread notion in white America that racism was cured by a few hard-won pieces of civil rights legislation some four decades ago.

So two cheers to Muwakkil for making a point that (sadly) cannot be made often enough. I will hold my third cheer in reserve, however, until this fine writer recognizes that media racism is not just a matter of black-and-white. I found in his incisive work not a single mention of minorities other than African-Americans. But we live in a time when Latinos rarely appear as anything other than sports reporters, and most of the Asian anchors are young women recruited for their "exotic" effect.

Isn't it time that our discourse on race and the media refocused its monochromatic and Afrocentric gaze to take account of other, more subtle shadings of racism?

Jorge A. Aquino
Oakland, California

Not Feeling His Pain

If we can't criticize the drug policies of the right when the right's most important advocate is revealed to be an utter hypocrite about drugs—when can we criticize them ("Sympathy for the Devil," November 17)?

Jim Naureckas
Editor, *Extra!*
New York, New York

Hats Off to Wisdom

I thank Studs Terkel for proving that growing old has its benefits ("No Brass Check Journalists," November 17). This man has learned a thing or two about a thing or two and he's generous enough to share his insights with us. Where would we be without people like him? May we all grow old as gracefully.

Andrew Marsh
Los Angeles

Welfare Reform is Broken

I completely agree with Jim Wallis' argument that welfare policy should be about ending poverty, and that the current policies of the Bush Administration of tax cuts to the rich and cutting benefits to the poor move the country further from that goal ("War on

the Poor," October 27). However, Wallis nods too much in the direction of conservative welfare policy rhetoric and goals when he writes that the welfare reform since 1996 has had "undeniable successes" and that most of us progressives now agree that work is the best way out of poverty.

I for one take exception to this alleged consensus, and I think that many of the facts that Wallis cites belie the claim. While many fewer people receive public benefits, this is a sign of success in welfare reform only if we do not worry about those who have been chummed out of the system or discouraged from entering it.

Private labor markets will not supply enough "work" for all those who need to support themselves at decent wages and with a measure of dignity on the job. Ending poverty requires publicly designed and funded good jobs. The "welfare to work" model, furthermore, refuses to recognize caring for children, old people, or people with disabilities as "work" unless it is done for pay by non-intimates.

Iris Young
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Shaping Left Strategy

"When did punk rock become so safe/when did the scene become a joke?" asks NOFX in the song "Separation of Church and Skate." The same could be asked

of Jeff Epton's left—a left more concerned with the "larger goal" of defeating Bush than supporting a true progressive candidate like Kucinich ("Seed of Destruction," December 8). If progressives ever hope to be taken seriously, they sure as hell better start supporting those candidates who best represent them—and cease with the lame excuses. Our candidate, Dennis Kucinich, has stepped forward; it is up to us to get him elected.

James Seckington
Huntington Beach, California

Note: This letter appeared as part of a spirited debate on the In These Times Web site (www.inthesetimes.com) sparked by publisher Jeff Epton's editorial, which urged progressives to abandon attack politics. We encourage writers and readers interested in continuing conversations about articles to participate in our online forums.

Corrections

In "Autism in a Needle?" (December 8) Dan Burton should have been identified as a U.S. Representative from Indiana. In "No Pepperoni, Please" (December 8) Tyson Food's 2002 profits should have been reported as \$350 million.

Terry LaBan



Randall Terry Resurfaces

Christian right jumps into Terri Schiavo fray

By Barbara Miner

The so-called "Terri's Law" signed by Gov. Jeb Bush on October 21 might better be named "Terry's Law"—in honor of rabid anti-abortionist Randall Terry, who played a key role in mobilizing Christian fundamentalists to pressure Jeb and the Florida legislature to intervene in the heart-wrenching case of Terri Schiavo.

The case of the 39-year-old Schiavo, who has been in a persistent vegetative state for 13 years, raises emotionally difficult issues. But participants in the so-called right-to-life movement have little use for complexity, nuance and discussion. Flush with victory on various anti-abortion fronts, the movement has seized on the Schiavo case to rally the troops and push the view that this is just one more example of secular liberals (and Democrats) promoting a culture of death.

And Randall Terry—founder of Operation Rescue, pioneer in aggressive harassment of women seeking abortions and an advocate of a "Christian-based" nation—is in the thick of it.

National media have generally acknowledged that religious conservatives played a key role in pressuring the Florida legislature to jump into the Schiavo case. But few have publicized the central role of Terry.

No less an authority than Bob Schindler, Schiavo's father, has acknowledged Terry's crucial support.

"Our family asked Randall Terry to come, and we gave him carte blanche to put Terri's fight in front of the American people," Schindler said. "He did exactly what we asked, and more. Randall organized vigils and protests, he coordinated the media, he helped us meet with Governor Bush."

Terry was a leader in the anti-abortion movement's campaign in the '80s and early '90s to put clinics out of business through intimidation, harassment and violence.

In a 1995 speech, for example, Terry reportedly said of doctors who perform abortions, "When I, or people like me, are running the country, you'd better flee, because we will find you, we will try you and we will execute you."

Following an anti-racketeering lawsuit by the National Organization for Women, he agreed in 1998 to a permanent injunction against any future actions against clinics.

But Terry is back. He resurfaced last summer in Ponte Vedra Beach in northern Florida and formed a new organization, The Society for Truth and Justice. His first campaign was against the U.S. Supreme Court's 6-3 decision striking down anti-sodomy laws, and he launched an "Impeach the Twisted Six" campaign with a rally in Jacksonville on August 9.

Turnout was low, however. But then came the Schiavo case and a ready-made platform for Terry's demagoguery.

Regardless of how the courts may rule in the Schiavo case, Terry has warned that the anti-abortion movement will continue its campaign. "Life is life," he said. But in an era of increasingly sophisticated medical technology, such slogans do little to answer complicated questions.

Many people, even conservatives, have taken the lesson from the Schiavo case that everyone should have a living will. But if religious extremists get their way, living wills may not be worth the paper they are written on.

When living will legislation first gained support in the '70s and '80s, the anti-abortion movement was adamantly opposed to demands for "death with dignity." As the National Right to Life notes on its Web site (www.nrlc.org), living wills are used "to condition public acceptance of assisted suicide, mercy killing, and euthanasia."

By and large, religious extremists lost their fight against living wills legislation. But Schiavo's case appears to have reenergized the movement's opposition to living wills, in the guise of opposition to euthanasia and assisted suicide.

Father Frank Pavone, director of Priests



MARK WILSON / GETTY

Randall Terry is back with his new group, The Society for Truth and Justice.

for Life, an extremist anti-abortion group involved in the Schiavo case, calls living wills "unnecessary and dangerous for patients, doctors and society." And R. Albert Mohler, Jr., in an article for the *Baptist Press News* on October 20, warned that the Schiavo case is proof "that the culture of death is gaining new ground" and that "what has been styled as 'voluntary' euthanasia is now turning into involuntary euthanasia."

Legislation currently before the Wisconsin Senate allows doctors, nurses, pharmacists and other medical personnel who morally disagree with the guidelines regarding feeding and hydration tubes to ignore living wills and advance directives. The legislation already has passed the Republican-controlled Assembly and is likely to pass the Republican-controlled Senate.

How this will all play out is unclear. But history has shown that Republicans are more than willing to align with the likes of Randall Terry if it suits their political purposes. In an election year, anything is possible. ■

Barbara Miner is a journalist based in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dishonorable Discharge

Bush administration slashes veteran's benefits

By Dave Lindorff

Over the last year and a half, President Bush has staged more than a third of his major public events before active military personnel or veterans. His rowdy "Hoo-ah"s and policy pronouncements—even when they have nothing to do with military matters—are predictably greeted with rabid applause.

But those easy and unquestioning crowds at military bases and American Legion halls will be increasingly hard to come by as soldiers and veterans start to notice the string of insults and budget cuts inflicted upon them.

Even more than his father, and Ronald Reagan before him, Bush is cutting budgets for myriad programs intended to pro-

tect or improve the lives of veterans and active-duty soldiers. Bush's handlers have worked hard, through the use of snappy salutes and fly-boy stunts, to present the service-ducking former National Guardsman as the soldiers' friend. But though Republicans enjoy widespread military support, Bill Clinton was the only president of the last four to cut weapons programs instead of veteran benefits.

Consider the following:

- With 130,000 soldiers still in the heat of battle in Iraq and more fighting and dying in Afghanistan, the Bush administration sought this year to cut \$75 a month from the "imminent danger" pay added to soldiers' paychecks when in battle zones. The administration sought to cut by \$150 a month the family separation allowance offered to those same soldiers and others who serve overseas away from their families. Although they were termed "wasteful and unnecessary" by the White House, Congress blocked those cuts this year, largely because of Democratic votes.

- This year's White House budget for Veterans Affairs cut \$3 billion from VA hospitals—despite 9,000 casualties in Iraq and as aging Vietnam veterans demand more care. VA spending today averages \$2,800 less per patient than nine years ago.
- The administration also proposed levying a \$250 annual charge on all Priority 8 veterans—those with "non-service-related illnesses"—who seek treatment at VA facilities, and seeks to close VA hospitals to Priority 8 veterans who earn more than \$26,000 a year.
- Until protests led to a policy change, the Bush administration also was charging injured GIs from Iraq \$8 a day for food when they arrived for medical treatment at the Fort Stewart, Georgia, base where most injured are treated.
- In mid-October, the Pentagon, at the request of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, announced plans to shutter 19 commissaries—military-run stores that offer discounted food and merchandise that helps low-paid enlisted troops and their families get by—along with the possibility of closing 19 more.
- At the same time, the Pentagon also announced it was trying to determine whether to shutter 58 military-run schools for soldiers' children at 14 military installations.
- The White House is seeking to block a federal judge's award of damages to a group of servicemen who sued the Iraqi government for torture during the 1991 Gulf War. The White House claims the money, to come from Iraqi assets confiscated by the United States, is needed for that country's reconstruction.
- The administration beat back a bipartisan attempt in Congress to add \$1.3 billion for VA hospitals to Bush's request of \$87 billion for war and reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- In perhaps its most dangerous policy, the White House is refusing to provide more than 40,000 active-duty troops in Iraq with Kevlar body armor, leaving it up to them and their families to

THIS MODERN WORLD



buy this life-saving equipment. This last bit of penny-pinching prompted Pentagon critic and Vietnam veteran Col. David Hackworth to point to "the cost of the extraordinary security" during Bush's recent trip to Asia, which he noted grimly "would cover a vest for every soldier" in Iraq.

Woody Powell, executive director of Veterans for Peace and a veteran of the Korean War, says these White House efforts should be viewed as attacks against American soldiers. "I don't think they see it as attacking them," he says. "They see it as saving money. But it's the wrong thing to be cutting, just like cutting education is a bad thing."

Increasingly, veterans, troops and their families are getting angry. *Army Times*, a newspaper widely read in military circles, ran a June 30 editorial saying: "President Bush and the Republican-controlled Congress have missed no opportunity to



POW Shoshana Johnson has had to fight the Pentagon for benefits.

heap richly deserved praise on the military. But talk is cheap and getting cheaper by the day, judging by the nickel-and-dime treatment the troops are getting lately." Ronald Conley, commander of the conservative

American Legion, also recently blasted the White House for VA budget cuts and surcharges, saying: "This is a raw deal for veterans no matter how you cut it. The administration is sending a message that these vets are not a priority at all."

In 2000, candidate Bush campaigned hard for the votes of soldiers and military families, promising "Help is on the way." It was, but in reverse. Military votes—especially absentee ballots from soldiers posted overseas—allowed Bush and his Supreme Court backers to claim a Republican victory in Florida.

Real help may come in 2004, but it likely will be a Democrat riding to the rescue. Each of the presidential hopefuls has blasted Bush and administration officials for dishonorable discharge of their duties to military men and women. ■

Dave Lindorff, a regular contributor to *In These Times*, is the author of *Killing Time*, a book on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

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Not So Special

Protests question Bush-Blair lovefest

By Ian Williams

The British tabloids once derided Prince Charles for allegedly talking to plants. His eccentricities continue. On November 18 he spoke to a Bush.

It appears, however, that the prince had to be careful what he said to this particular shrub. According to the *Guardian*, the British Foreign Office has been keeping the heir-apparent away from the United States because his outspoken pro-Palestinian views were considered a threat to the two nations' "special relationship."

Even Tony Blair, easily the most pro-Israeli prime minister Britain has had for 50 years, is reportedly miffed because he thought his delivery of British support for the war on Iraq was tied to some serious American pressure on Sharon to deliver on Middle East peace.

There is a self-deprecatory element to British patriotism. Flagwaving and such jingoistic displays are associated with soccer fans. "My country right, or wrong," is not a common British concept—so it is difficult for many British to accept a prime minister who supports someone else's country, right or wrong. It was one thing to see Clinton and Blair as ideological chums, both involved in a new political project of getting reelected while stiffing their traditional supporters, but even New Labour is so far to the left of George Bush it makes many British voters wonder what Blair is up to.

The street protests and widespread disillusionment with both governments in Britain are not anti-American. The British are quite prepared to support the United States when they feel it is right. But that same goodwill does not extend to Bush, whom many British believe is arrogant and ignorant.

During the Vietnam War, President Johnson used the IMF and other financial tools to force then-Prime Minister Harold Wilson to send troops. Wilson, although the pound was tottering toward its last days as a reserve currency, refused, not least because even without British military involvement the protests against the war were on the scale that Tony Blair is now subject to.

Johnson wanted British support then for the same reason Bush wants it now: To provide a multilateral fig leaf for Washington's essentially unilateral escapade.

Authoritarian Personalities 3.9

Shock jocks at three different Clear Channel radio stations have caused a furor in the past few months after inciting listeners to harass and injure bicycle riders. The brouhaha began last June when a bunch of on-air personalities known to listeners of WMJL as "Cleveland's Knuckleheads" discussed the fun to be had forcing cyclists off the road, pelting them with pop bottles, and smacking them with car doors. The jocks invited listeners to proffer their own ideas for anti-bicycle aggression, and rewarded the best ones with prizes.

In early September KLOL, a Houston Clear Channel station, took up the routine, only days after a Texas driver nailed five cyclists with his pickup, killing two. Then weeks later WDCG, a Raleigh, North Carolina station, got in on the act. A listener mirthfully revealed that her father hit a cyclist on the way to church. An intern regaled listeners with tales of a neighborhood codger who shoots cyclists with

a pellet gun.

Listeners have complained to the FCC, advertisers have pulled their business from the stations, and bike groups have remonstrated with Clear Channel honchos. The conglomerate, a paragon of patriotic radio, claims that the aggressive bike shtick at the three stations was a mere coincidence. But we all know the score. Think about how closely bicyclists resemble the hated liberal. Virtuous, un-macho, loath to exercise their right to deplete precious fossil fuels—can they really be considered good Americans?

Delayed and Abused 4.1

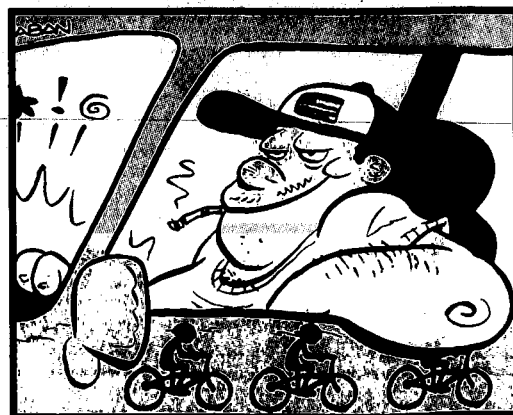
Celebrations for Children Inc. is a nonprofit organization for abused and neglected children. So why will it pay for a luxury suite, parties and yacht cruises for lobbyists and GOP swells at this summer's Republican convention in New York City? Because, reports the *New York Times*, the "charity" is run by

Tom DeLay's daughter, an aide and a Republican fund-raiser. Critics say the charity is an innovative way of getting around federal laws regulating soft money. Corporate donors are hit up for hundreds of thousands of dollars (for the kids, remember) in return for dinners, rounds of golf, and other intimate access to DeLay and other elected GOP officials (who, owing to their deep concern for the welfare of children, also are invited to the events). Donations are tax-deductible.

Courtroom Dramatics 3.0

"Hi, I'm Joey. I'm eight, and I'm scared." These lines were spoken not by a boy but by Nita Denton, a grown woman employed as a prosecutor for Martin County, Florida. She addressed them to a jury sitting in

judgment of Brad Dial, a man accused of killing Jose "Joey" Torres, the 8-year-old alluded to in Denton's remarks. "Right before I died that Sunday, Mommy went to work," Denton continued. "That meant that I would be with Brad, and Brad would be mean to me. ... Some time that night I died." For some reason, reports the *Palm Beach Post*, the presiding circuit court judge allowed the prosecution to continue this bizarre channeling of the dead boy, over defense objections. The *Post* did not report how deeply Denton's performance touched the jury.



So what has Blair gotten out of the presidential visit? On the face of it, one has to look hard to see what Britain gains from sending its troops to die for unpopular causes. For example, the White House did not give Blair any deal on the British detainees in Guantanamo, who according to Blair's government are being held illegally. Nor does it look likely that Bush will give way on the protective tariffs levied against British steel, despite a WTO ruling that they break international agreements. Events on the ground may have now inclined the White House more toward the British view that the occupation of Iraq needs to be internationalized—but that owes more to the unexpected tenacity of Iraqi fighters and their effect on impending American elections.

Bush's speeches to the British, as they often do for international audiences, contained all the right noises about multilateralism, democracy and even on the Middle East. But infuriatingly irreverent as the British are to their own leaders, the 100,000-200,000 marchers came out on a working day to protest not just Bush's presence in Britain but their anger at



ERIC FEFERBERG / GETTY

Tens of thousands of protesters gathered in London on November 20 to speak out against Bush.

what he actually does, and their shame that Blair has made their country an accomplice. ■

Ian Williams regularly covers international politics from the United Nations for In These Times.

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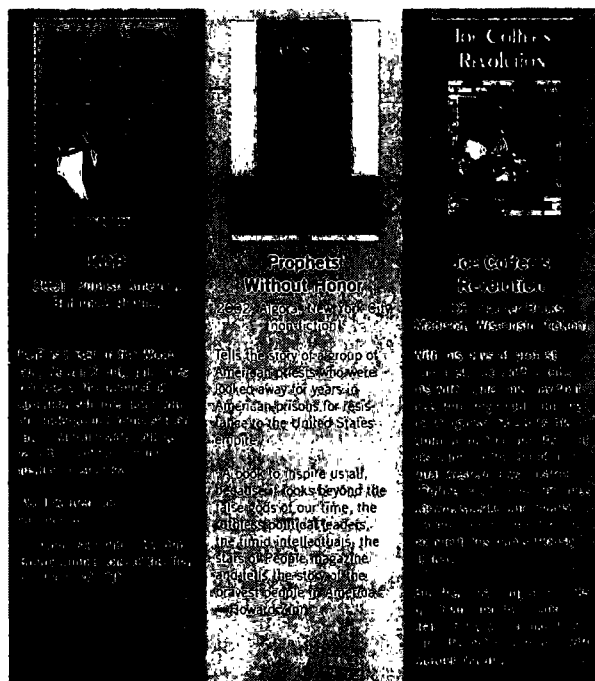
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TWINS Fiction, based in Minneapolis/Saint Paul. Two twin brothers, one a revolutionary priest, the other the warden of the local federal penitentiary, battle in the streets and from the rooftops. It's a sibling rivalry, rich vs. poor, yuppies against the gangs of the ghetto, the Kiwanis Club meets the prison yard weightlifters. It's walleye sizzling in the crisp north woods air and dirty diapers in the gutter. It's food on a stick, a seat on the third-baseline, and halftime mud wrestling between Dorothy Day and Mary Tyler Moore, in this one-of-a-kind American metropolis.

[Badger Books, Madison, Wisc.]



OTHER PUBLISHED WORKS BY MIKE PALECEK



ORDERING INFORMATION

Both books will be available at Amazon.com or through a local bookstore, or by contacting the publisher.

Palecek is an Iowa author, former federal prisoner for peace, former Catholic seminarian, former Iowa TV/Nebraska newspaper reporter, was the Iowa Democratic Party nominee for the U.S. House, 5th District, 2000 election. Palecek lives in Sheldon, Iowa with Ruth, Sam and Emily.

BY BRET SCHAEFFER

The Accidental Conservationist

Lisa Gautier's environmentalist career didn't begin with a treetop hunger strike or a bracing voyage on a Greenpeace boat. It began with an old rug.

"I bought a new rug and I didn't know what to do with the old one," says the 36-year-old San Franciscan. So Gautier called a nearby school and asked the principal if the school might need a rug. It did. When she dropped it off, the principal presented her with a laundry list of other needs. Suddenly, Gautier had a calling. And soon after she had a nonprofit, Matter of Trust, co-founded with her husband, Patrice.

Launched in 1998, Matter of Trust does everything from organizing surplus programs—using hair salon clippings to soak up oil spills, for instance—to publishing books like *It's Easy Being Green: The User-Friendly Eco Handbook*.

In addition, Gautier and her tech-savvy husband built a database that connects businesses and schools looking for furniture, office equipment, and, of course, rugs, with other businesses, schools and government agencies looking to dispose of those goods.

The online listing is called *ExcessAccess*, and it's dedicated to keeping "stuff out of landfills and putting it in the hands of people who need it," Gautier says.

Other than your incident with the rug, what made you decide to start this company?

When we began we really wanted to highlight both society's surplus concerns and nature's abundance solutions—sort of working towards a common ground from both ends.

We started *ExcessAccess* and Matter of Trust at the same time, and both were really rooted in the concept of plenty. I think it's fair to say that the U.S. knows it has entitlement issues with regard to abundance. The world is both awed and disgusted by the way the U.S. has created this phenomenon of simultaneous excess and need. And now, as the malls spread internationally, it follows that more people will grow accustomed to conveniences and goods. The key is how to unite everyone's environment and desires.

As a mom, I'm in love with disposable diapers. I'm very dependent on my car. I'm always packing lunch boxes. In order to be

consistently green, I needed an ecology-for-dummies program.

Explain your recent bio-diesel project with school buses in Oakland, California?

Recycled oils, restaurant fryer grease, even hospital liposuction fat can be used to run diesel engines. ... Fifty percent of Oakland restaurants are reportedly flushing their grease down the drain and, like fat deposits in arteries, the city plumbing is heading for a heart attack.

So we coordinated with a school bus company called Michael's Transportation Inc.—and with the Oakland school district, bio-diesel manufacturers, diesel distributors, and the purchase brokers on both sides—until finally, all of the school buses in [Michael's] fleet could start with a 5 percent blend of restaurant-grease bio-diesel.

The buses smelled a little like french fries and the bio-diesel, which also works like a solvent, cleaned the engines of the entire fleet. Now we're collaborating with Berkeley's Ecology Center on a multi-user commitment for a 1 million-gallon bio-diesel buy-in for the San Francisco Bay Area.

Your company also has aided the relief effort in Afghanistan. How did that happen?

Each new donation and wish posting is reviewed by us. Then, as we have hundreds of matches every day, everything is done automatically by our online database. But this one particular group had come to my personal attention because they were picking up an item from Joan Baez. I'm a fan, so I was watching to see that everything went smoothly.

The charity picking up her donation was setting up its office in California. I got in contact with them and found out that they were also collecting medical supply donations for a clinic in Kabul, Afghanistan. That same day we were offered two optometry ultrasound machines. Now, thanks to everyone involved, Kabul has the ultrasound

machines and they are the only ultrasound machines in all of Afghanistan.

What current re-use or conservation policies would you like to see changed?

All you have to do is sit in the direct sun for half an hour to be convinced that we are not fully tapping into the solar panel industry. The hemp fiber market will undoubtedly return as a major market once everyone comprehends that it isn't the controversial *cannabis*



Lisa Gautier

*indica*s, but *cannabis sativa*, and anyone who is silly enough to roll and smoke it will be sadly disappointed. ... Sunflowers for bio-diesel is another example of a U.S.-native polycrop that is under-appreciated, and organic farms need a strong voice in the Capitol, for all our sakes and palates. I'm not a fan of the concept of lobbyists, but sometimes Washington [politicians] won't get beat until you join them. The soybean lobbyists are an interesting example of how powerful this method is. ... The advantage to including lobbyists in a big-picture ecological shift is that it's one way to put the U.S. on a faster track to wiser practices.

It's certainly better than waiting for mainstream public revolts to manmade environmental disasters. ■

For more information visit www.excessaccess.com.

The Selective Solidarity of the Left

By Danny Postel

In Tehran since 1999, government vigilantes have stormed a student dormitory brandishing clubs and thrashing students with chains. They have tossed one student out of a window to his death. During such raids, helicopters hover overhead, elite units of anti-riot police gather and plainclothes Intelligence Ministry agents buzz around on motorbikes. Plainclothes security officers routinely detain student radicals at gunpoint.

Why are American progressives by and large silent about the situation in Iran today?

How many American progressives knew who Shirin Ebadi was before she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last month? Almost no one. By the same token, how many of us knew who Rigoberta Menchú was before she won the prize in 1992? Many, if not most of us: We'd seen her speak, read her autobiography, or simply had come to know her story by osmosis in activist circles.

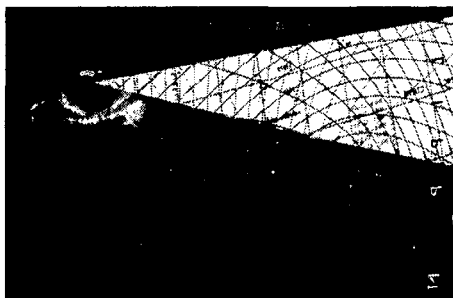
Consider the number of Guatemalan solidarity groups that have come onto the scene over the years. How many American progressives, at some point between the early '80s and the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, were involved, at one level or another, in solidarity work around Guatemala? Tons of us. Why the difference?

What is going on in Iran doesn't lend itself to the kind of analytical prism through which progressives made sense of Central America during the high tide of our solidarity activism, the Reagan years. In Central America, military juntas and death squads, in concert with feudal elites and corporate oligarchs, were running the show with the active support of the United States. In a nutshell, a bloodbath of imperial domination, rapacious exploitation, scorched earth terror, and mass murder—in which the United States was complicit from top to bottom.

But what happens when people are struggling against tyranny and repression that is not being perpetrated by the United States or its proxies and when—to take the case of Iran today—the regime in question is a sworn enemy of the United States.

Let's face it: It's just plain uncomfortable for progressives to say anything that sounds like it could also come out of the mouth of George Bush or Paul Wolfowitz.

Jeremy Brecher argues in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, however, that "failure to defend human rights in such circumstances only plays into the hands of the Bush juggernaut." Progressives must, he contends, be known as "people whose fundamental sol-



idity is not with one or another government but with all people who are struggling for liberation from oppression."

We should not allow Washington's rhetoric to have a silencing effect on us. To do so, in effect, is to let Bush and Wolfowitz do our thinking for us.

Rather than accept the Bush administration's pronouncements at face value, why not unmask them for the opportunistic propaganda they are? Why not point out that despite its rhetoric, the administration couldn't care less about democracy and human rights? Whatever the rhetoric about supporting the student movement, the reality is, as Brecher puts it, that the administration sees Iran as "a critical source of oil and a powerful country that currently threatens—but could support—both U.S. and Israeli interests." "Encouraging the student revolt," he points out, "is done in the interest of Washington's agenda, which can not be accurately described as seeking freedom, independence, and self-determination for the people of Iran."

We must distinguish our progressive criticisms of the Islamic republic from Washington's hollow and self-serving ones.

The picture gets further complicated, and the left gets further flummoxed, over

the role of the United States in the Iranian context. The memory of the 1953 U.S.-sponsored coup against the democratically elected government of Mohammad Mossadegh burns furiously in the minds of many Iranians to this day. The problem is that denunciations of the American empire today are the rhetorical dominion of the right, not the left. It's the reactionary clergy, not the student movement, that wields the idiom of anti-imperialism.

Regime hard-liners "legitimate their suppression of the students," Brecher points out, "as necessary to guard against 'foreign forces.'" Indeed, the mullahs denounced the awarding of the Nobel Prize to Shirin Ebadi as "the result of the cultural hegemony of Western civilization," a tool "intended to serve the interests of colonialism and the decadent world." This kind of talk can throw off the ideological compasses of many progressives.

In contrast, for the students, feminists, human rights activists and dissidents agitating for pluralism and democracy in Iran today, opposition to U.S. imperialism is not the central issue. "The student movement's principal demand," as Brecher notes, is "to eliminate

We must distinguish our progressive criticisms from Washington's hollow and self-serving ones.

the power of the self-perpetuating theocratic elite over the Iranian government."

A simple stance of "hands off Iran" is not what those struggling for change in Iran need from progressives around the world. Of course we should be steadfast in opposing any U.S. military intervention in Iran—that's the easy part. But it's not the end of the discussion. As Ziba Mir-Hosseini of the University of London puts it, Iran is in "a state at war with itself." Progressives everywhere should take sides in that war and actively support the forces of democracy, feminism, pluralism, human rights and freedom of expression. ■

Danny Postel is a writer based in Chicago. This article is excerpted from a speech given at a conference November 14 at Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago.

Bible Gets Girly Makeover

By Eleanor Bader

Capitalism is nothing if not inventive—and where a market is perceived, products inevitably follow. Take niche Bibles.

In 1999, Thomas Nelson Inc., a Christian publisher, teamed up with Audio Adrenaline, a Nashville band, to form Extreme for Jesus, a subsidiary geared to young consumers. Their first release was *Extreme Teen Bible*, designed “to show teens that the Bible can be cool and encourage them to be radical about their faith and outspoken in their attitudes and convictions about the Savior,” says Nelson spokeswoman Laurie Whaley.

It sold well. But market research revealed something startling: Buyers of the *Extreme Teen Bible* were largely young males.

“We took a step back and by 2001 were looking to develop a Bible for teen girls,” Whaley continues. “We knew that gender-specific products did well, so we started by asking 1,000 girls from around the country—in focus groups and online through the Extreme for Jesus Web site—how they felt about the Bible. They told us they didn’t read it. It was too big. We asked them what they read instead and the answer was magazines.

So, this summer the company released *Revolve: The Complete New Testament*, a glossy, multicolored fashion magazine look-alike. The first 40,000—available exclusively in Christian bookstores and at concerts and music festivals—sold out within a month. A second printing of 120,000 will hit chain stores before Christmas.

It’s likely to stuff many a stocking. What’s more, as the first Bible geared to teenage girls, it’s meant to fire up its audience and prompt them to actively spread the Gospel in their high schools and communities. *Revolve* includes the entire New Testament—Matthew to Revelations—as well as a panoply of less lofty messages, from beauty tips to dating advice to quizzes about self-esteem and body image. As you’d expect from a publication crafted by religious conservatives, readers are encouraged to be helpmates to men. Surprisingly, though, the editors seem to take several pages

from feminist playbooks and repeatedly steer readers away from becoming doormats for Jesus.

It’s a confusing mix, wrapped in a hip, contemporary package. In fact, *Revolve* was designed by Studio Four5One, a Dublin firm that has done work for U2, Depeche Mode, Elvis Costello and Sting.

Then there’s the text. “There are no thee’s and thou’s,” says Kate Etue, senior



editor at Nelson. “The translation we’ve used puts the Scripture, which was written thousands of years ago, into everyday English. It makes it relevant. It isn’t just words strung together. It’s God speaking directly to the girls.”

And God’s message?

- “God made guys to be the leaders. This means that they lead in relationships.”
- “*Revolve* girls don’t call guys. Guys need to step up and be the man.”
- “Dating a nonbeliever is like playing with fire. God wants Christians to marry other Christians.”
- “Sex is a beautiful gift that God has given to married people. To wonder is OK, to learn about it from a purely educational standpoint is OK, too. But to fantasize about it, to think about doing it, is sinful.”
- “The Bible clearly says that homosexuality is wrong [Romans 1:24-27]. It’s against God.”

Yet for all this, *Revolve* is more than a guide to heterosexual subservience.

Another section posits the following:

- “Does your guy expect you to jump up and get him a fresh Coke when you’re watching the game? Does he think it’s your job to make the popcorn? What about cleaning up around the house?”

“The Bible says husbands should love their wives as they love their own bodies,” the magazine offers. “If he doesn’t respect you, end the relationship. ... Make sure he is treating you the way Christ treated the church. With respect. With dignity. Selflessly.”

Other sections of the “magazine” discuss AIDS, domestic violence, eating disorders, pregnancy, racism, rape, sexual abuse, and alcoholism and drug use. Although neither abortion nor birth control is mentioned, the rest of the information is downright rational, even helpful.

“My cousin who sexually abused me when I was younger is going to be moving into the house,” one Q&A column confesses. “I tried talking to my mom and dad but they will not listen. I am scared and not sure what to do.”

Revolve urges the questioner to “speak up. That’s the first step in confronting evil. Keep telling your parents and other people in authority—whomever you can find. Don’t ever be alone with this person. Stay with friends if necessary till he is gone.”

Social action also rears its head: “There are over 2,300 verses in the Scripture that command us to take care of the poor, feed the hungry, and clothe the naked. What are you doing to live that out?” *Revolve* asks. Information on several dozen groups from the Youth Conservation Corps to Head Start provides would-be activists with a stepping-stone to involvement.

To some, *Revolve* is innovative, awesome and valuable. To others it is vapid, reactionary and abhorrent. In reality it is both. Sections of the magazine are revoltingly misogynistic and homophobic; others offer sound information and useful referrals.

Still, readers can’t help but be struck by an unexpected reality: *Revolve* has clearly been influenced by the women’s movement. It encourages girls to go to college, find careers and develop a healthy body image. At the same time, it condemns sexual experimentation of all kinds and is intolerant of those who test the waters of alternative lifestyles. Apparently, a publication geared to Christian females can take a pro-woman message only so far. ■

Fool Us Once, Fool Us Twice

By Ana Marie Cox

Wisely, the makers of *Shattered Glass* have not pitched their film to viewers—or the media—as being about either the inner workings of a hundred-plus-year-old publication or the pitfalls of modern political journalism.

No, according to its writer-director, Billy Ray, this newest take on serial mythmaker Stephen Glass is “bigger than journalism”—it’s about “right and wrong.” Reviewers and critics have, in general, bought into this point of view, agreeing that *Shattered Glass* is, if not bigger than journalism, still about journalism’s big issues: It “puts journalistic ethics on trial,” according to blurb-whore multiple offender Peter Travers. Rex Reed raves it “will teach you something about ethics gone awry.” The *Washington Times* describes it as a “vivid morality play.” David Edelstein, writing in *Slate*, gets rather scarily into the spirit of such moralizing, writing that the film “makes us feel the way our forefathers must have felt after a really good public stoning.”

This is all quite a windup for a movie in which the central moral quandary isn’t much of a head-scratcher: Is it wrong for a journalist to make up stories? Well, yes.

To be fair, critics would have to do some fabricating themselves to find a true ethical dilemma in the story of Glass as told by Ray. While superficially compelling, the *Shattered Glass* version of events that brought down a rising young magazine writer and threatened a venerated magazine feels less like a meditation on right and wrong than a police procedural.

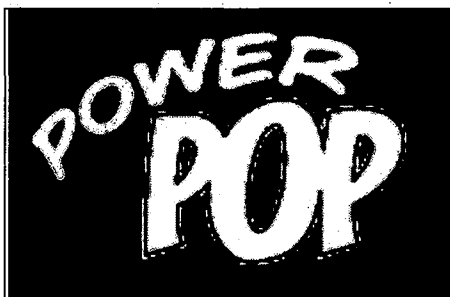
In May 1998, Glass was fired from the perennially almost-relevant *New Republic* after a writer for *Forbes*’ online publication, *Digital Tool*, unraveled the first of what would prove to be a string—nay, a skein—of almost totally invented feature articles.

Shattered Glass tells that story and nothing else.

Much has been made of Ray’s decision to keep Glass—in a manner of speaking—

opaque: We don’t find out much about his motives, hear little about his past, and learn only the barest outline of the mechanics of his fraud. On this score, the movie fails even as a genre flick: The best part of any film about a con is finding out how it’s done.

More importantly, though, the film fails to show why Glass’ deceptions matter. If the “dilemma” set forth by Ray is



to lie or not to lie, the stakes of the choice are absurdly, insultingly low—by the moral calculus of the film, Glass is wrong to lie because he made *The New Republic* look bad.

In reality, those most profoundly betrayed by Glass’ falsehoods were *New Republic* readers. But the closest the movie gets to suggesting that journalism is a public service and not a personality contest is a line that’s really meant to underscore how important the magazine itself is: “What you write gets read by people who matter.” Couple this with the movie’s repeated assertion that the publication was “the in-flight magazine of Air Force One,” and viewers might begin to infer that the journalistic line Glass crossed is worth holding not just because he hurt the feelings of those he worked with but because, you know, “people who matter” might make decisions based on what they read.

It’s true: If journalists are no more trustworthy than the CIA, we’re all in trouble. But it’s also worth noting that Glass didn’t write about anything as important as ethanol subsidies. In fact, throughout the movie, characters throw around the phrase “a piece on ethanol subsidies” as

shorthand for the kind of dry, wonky inside-the-Beltway journalism that Glass didn’t practice. Rather, Glass had a feel for what would make a fine zeitgeisty, counter-counter-intuitive snapshot of the country’s mood—or, rather, the moderate-liberal intellectual *New Republic* reader’s mood.

The New Republic still runs pieces that pander to its readers, confirming their personal fears and prejudices. My personal favorite was a 2001 cover story titled “In Defense of Conventional Wisdom.” The magazine is not alone—the proliferation of highly targeted niche media, especially in the Internet era, has created passive media consumers more interested in personal affirmation than truth.

Which brings us to the question I kept hoping *Shattered Glass* would ask: Not just “Why did he lie?” but “Why did anyone believe him?”

In hindsight, almost all of Glass’ stories have the “if it ain’t true it oughta be” ring of urban legends: Wall Streeters who literally worshipped Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, drunk young Republicans, and, of

***Shattered Glass* fails to show why the tarnished *New Republic* writer’s deceptions matter.**

course, the story that brought him down, hackers employed by major electronics companies to use their powers for good, not evil.

Glass’ stories made it into the pages of *The New Republic* because the magazine’s staff and its readers wanted to believe they were true. This willingness to believe is not, by any means, as great a sin as the many transgressions Glass committed, but it’s a sin nonetheless. If, as David Edelstein put it, *Shattered Glass* makes those Glass betrayed “feel the way our forefathers must have felt after a really good public stoning,” I would hope what he means is “guilty.” ■

A note: Interested readers can check out rakemag.com for my lengthier review of *Shattered Glass*.

THE FIRST

By Joel Bleifuss

Divide and Conquer

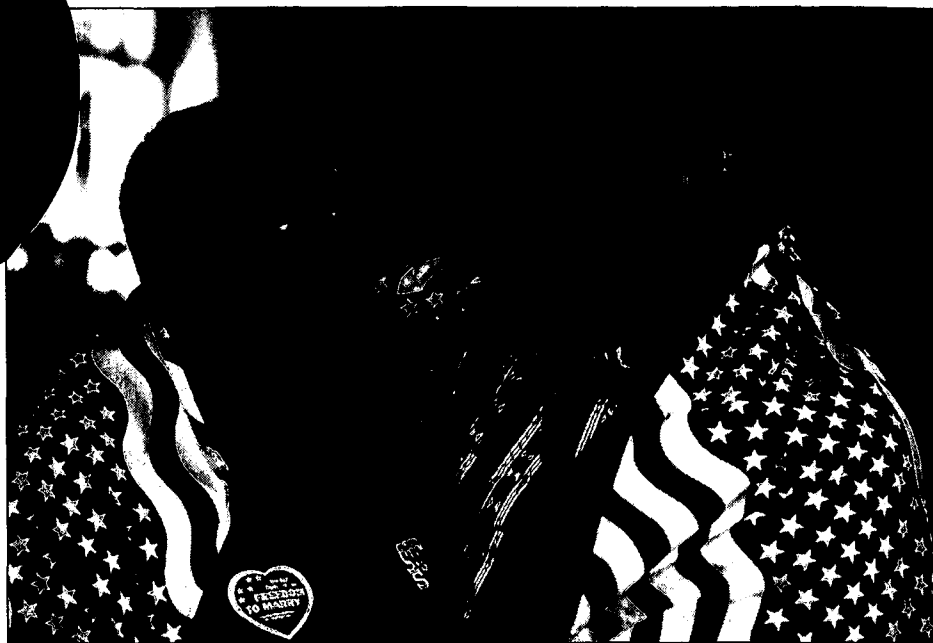
Howard Dean told the *Des Moines Register*, "I still want to be the candidate for guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks." And his fellow Democratic candidates went on the attack. Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) put it this way: "It is simply unconscionable for Howard Dean to embrace the most racially divisive symbol in America." Dean tried to explain what he meant, saying, "The only way we're going to beat George Bush is if Southern white working families and African-American working families come together under the Democratic tent."

Rep. Jesse Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.) agrees. Jackson, who has endorsed Dean, wrote on BlackElectorate.com:

Historically, the Confederate flag is a symbol of the Democratic Party. Today, however, Republicans can fly and wave it but Democrats can't talk about it—and current Democrats don't know how to handle it.

As a result, the symbol Howard Dean used got in the way of his substance, but his substance was on point—and the point was Southern whites and blacks together must focus on their common economic needs: jobs, good schools, affordable health care.

Jackson chides the Democratic Party for trying to appeal to white Southern voters by hyping social conservatism and running a presidential ticket that includes a Southern face: "Howard Dean dares a new approach—to join whites and blacks around a common economic agenda of good schools and health care."



A couple celebrates the Massachusetts ruling in San Francisco.

Do You, Bob, Take This Man ...

And it will take a good Democratic candidate to deal with the one social issue that threatens to divide the nation during the upcoming election. The right is mobilizing around the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruling that gay and lesbian couples should be granted the same rights as straights to marry.

"Radical homosexual activists have made their intentions clear—'couples' will now converge on Massachusetts, 'marry,' and return to their respective states to file lawsuits to challenge Defense of Marriage Acts (DOMAs) and try to force the states to recognize their 'marriages,'" Alan Sears, president of the Christian right legal team, the Alliance Defense Fund, told Focus on the Family.

Social conservatives fear that when states with DOMAs refuse to grant married status to same-sex couples wed in Massachusetts, homosexual marriage will become a federal issue and end up in the same Supreme Court that overturned Texas' anti-sodomy law.

The one action that could nullify this threat is a constitutional amendment that defines the legal contract of "marriage" as one between a man and a woman. Focus on the Family founder James Dobson warns: "The dire ramifications of what is happening in the United States and other Western nations cannot be overstated.

For millennia, traditional marriage—the union of one man and one woman—has been celebrated by every culture on Earth as the cornerstone of society. But now, we have this activist court that is arrogant enough to say that those thousands of years of culture are simply wrong. We simply must act." Now is the time for all good Christians to fight the "tidal wave of homosexual activism that is sweeping around the globe."

For Republican political strategists in 2004, it will be "Goodbye Willie Horton, hello gay marriage."

Democratic political strategists are worried that the gay marriage issue could make it difficult to win states with large populations of Christian fundamentalists. "I don't care who gets married," James Carville told Maureen Dowd earlier this year, "but the Republicans will use this to divide the Democrats and reduce us to an accumulation of interest groups—a woman's right to choose, a kid's right to education, a transgender's right to whatever."

Yes, the Republicans will try to do so. But in this case the best defense is a good offense. As Jackson said in his support for Dean, "If Howard Dean wins the nomination around an economic agenda and can effectively combat the certain Republican tactic of diversion—using social issues openly, and race more subtly, to sublimate economic concerns—then Democrats may

once again be able to win in the South and pursue a progressive economic agenda for the benefit of all Americans."

They Had You Babe

On a recent C-Span call-in show, a woman phoned in to talk about a day-long visit to Walter Reed Army Medical Center, where she met with casualties of the war in Iraq. What follows are excerpts, edited for clarity, of what she said:

As I walked into the hospital the first person I ran into was a boy about 19 or 20 years old who'd lost both of his arms. Everyone had lost either one limb or two limbs. A lot of legs seemed to be missing and a couple of the boys told me it was because the rockets pierce their vehicles so much it's like being in a tin can. The walls of the Humvees are very soft and there's no protection. Three guys in the same vehicle each lost a leg. And if they lost one leg, the shrapnel hit the other leg and they were having to pull the thigh muscle around the bottom of the calf to try to make the leg workable. In some cases the other leg was so damaged that these boys weren't sure what they were going to be able to do. It took everything that I have not to break down while I was talking to these guys.

If there was no reason for this war, this was the most heinous thing I've ever seen. I wonder why Cheney, Wolfowitz, Bremer and the president aren't taking pictures with all these guys.

[She then goes on to praise C-Span and Worldlink TV.] And I must say that the news we get in America has nothing to do with the news that you get outside of this country. My favorite source outside the U.S. is BBC because you get much more honest coverage. They're independent. They're not owned by any of the major corporations that, you know, have a vested interest in this war.

Then, after a cheery goodbye, Cher hung up. She had called in anonymously,

but the moderator eventually recognized to whom he was speaking.

First Lady Fantasies

"As a bachelor, I get a chance to fantasize about my first lady," presidential hopeful Dennis Kucinich told Fox news. Kucinich, who is divorced, suggested that Fox sponsor a national contest to find him "a dynamic, outspoken woman who was fearless in her desire for peace in the world and for universal single-payer health care and a full-employment economy."

Fox didn't sponsor a contest, but PoliticsNH.com did. More than 80 first-lady hopefuls, including a first cousin of Howard Dean, are vying for the attention of the former boy mayor of Cleveland.

Christine, 47, from Tampa, Florida, a state with 27 electoral votes,

tells Dennis, "I want to create a love nest that is off-the-grid and sustainable (Rose Garden to Organic Vegetable Garden!)"

Tammy, 39, of Pennsylvania, which has 21 electoral votes, entices Dennis with the fact that her "crowning achievement to this point has been as a founder of a national nonprofit working to get dogs off chains and into the family." Her group's motto, Dogs Deserve Better, draws inspiration from Nelson Mandela, who said, "For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."

Tasha, 39, also of Pennsylvania, boasts, "Not to brag because bragging is un-Buddhist, but a woman like me could help get Dennis elected." She explains that she would be able to give him a good haircut and as a "certified level-two Reiki channel" she would be able to ease the presidential "stress of dealing with world leaders."

Carol, 45, of Delaware, with three electoral votes, crows: "I'm a 45-year-old single Sagittarius/Rooster living in the first town in the first state, Delaware. Dennis, you are a Libra/Dog." She adds that Madame Lee, her astrologer, told her "we'll be great friends and lovers, too."

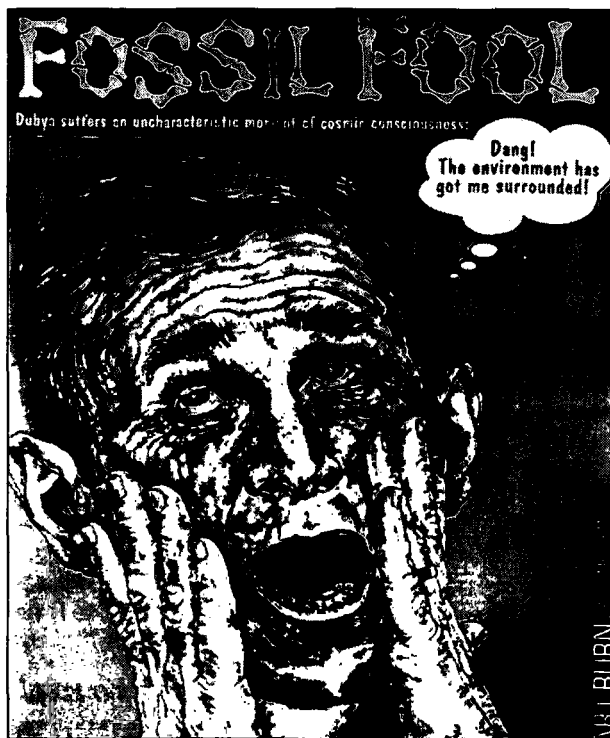
Kucinich, who has agreed to have dinner with the woman who wins the contest, had this to say of the outpouring of interest, "Women really like the idea of a partnership in the White House with a shared commitment for peace and prosperity."

Art Burn

Guerrilla poster artist Robbie Conal has brought smiles to the faces of many with his portraits, like the one below, that unrelentingly capture the soul of national cultural and political figures. Three of his portrait posters adorn the walls of the *In These Times* art department. In *ART-BURN* (RDV Books, 2003), Conal has compiled a collection of his work, which has been published each month in the *L.A. Weekly* since 1997. ■



CHER



There has not been such a wholesale giveaway of America's public assets since McKinley was president in the late 1800s



LIQUIDATION OF THE COMMONS

BY ADAM WERBACH

Adam Werbach is the executive director of the Common Assets Defense Fund and a member of the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission. He is a former president of the Sierra Club, a position to which he was elected at the age of 23.

When the Bush administration's nominee to head the Environmental Protection Agency was asked to describe his goals, Gov. Mike Leavitt of Utah summed up his general approach by invoking the Latin term *enlibra*, which roughly means "in balance." In typical fashion for the Bush administration, the choice of language is both elegant and misleading. Environmentalists understand balance, but Leavitt's balance is not the tending of the delicate interaction between nature and humanity in order to ensure that the ecological systems on which we rely are protected. An examination of the Bush administration's record during its first three years in office demonstrates that it views its role as reestablishing the preeminent right of corporations to take from nature what they need with little regard for the long-term health of nature or for the communities that live downwind or can't afford bottled water. The "balance" the administration wishes to strike is akin to an affirmative action program for corporate polluters.

There has not been such a wholesale giveaway of our common assets to corporate interests since the presidency of William McKinley. In the 1896 presidential election, McKinley was aided in his battle against the

great American populist, William Jennings Bryan, by coal and oil magnate Mark Hanna. Hanna has been cited by Karl Rove, President Bush's key political adviser, as a major influence and inspiration. Hanna raised more than \$4 million in campaign contributions from corporations like Standard Oil and unapologetically blanketed the country with pamphlets suggesting that only a government that catered first to the needs of corporate interests could serve the needs of the people. Upon election, McKinley proceeded to give away large sections of America's common assets under the direction of Hanna.

The Bush administration, elected with the contributions of America's largest polluting companies, is on a similar path. Executing the plan are the same people who were lobbying for exemptions and tax breaks before Bush took office, only now they're being paid by the federal government. For example, the Undersecretary of the Interior, J. Steven Griles, is an industry lobbyist still being paid by his former firm to work on behalf of that firm's interests rather than on behalf of the interests of the American people.

The destructive effects of the administration's policies are felt on the ground in places like Gillette, Wyoming.



The "balance" the administration wishes to strike is akin to an affirmative action program for corporate polluters.

Gillette, Wyoming

Gillette bustles with the energy of a town on the verge of a gold rush. The hard-scrabble landscape surrounding Gillette is pocked with drill pads and roads left by dried-up oil wells from previous plunders. The town lies in the middle of the Powder River Basin, which lies at the heart of the administration's plans for natural gas development in the United States. What's happening there illustrates the negative consequences of corporate-interested common-asset giveaways.

Soon after Bush took office, Vice President Dick Cheney convened a secretive energy task force to craft the administration's agenda. They recommended two major efforts: lower the environmental bar and pay corporations to jump over it. With the help of Enron's Ken Lay and other gas and oil industry leaders, they laid out a set of plans to weaken existing environmental regulations and provide a multibillion-dollar package of tax incentives to increase oil and gas production.

If natural gas development made economic and environmental sense in the Powder River Basin, capital from private investors would take the place of government subsidies. This is a gold rush where the gold is provided by Congress. There is a significant

amount of natural gas in the area, but it's embedded within coal deposits deep underground. The only way to get at this natural gas—coalbed methane—is by draining the groundwater to the level of the coal in order to release the gas. To do so requires an astonishing amount of water. The Bureau of Land Management estimates that if all goes ahead as planned, the miners will discard more than 700 million gallons of publicly owned water a year, water that will be pumped out of rapidly dwindling aquifers, nature's water storage devices. Local ranchers already are complaining that their water wells are running dry and that their land is being invaded by mining companies given title to the minerals beneath the ranchers' land. The mining of coalbed methane is as expensive as it is wasteful, and the industry has received promises from Congress of a \$3 billion tax credit to help them on their way, despite the fact that it makes little economic sense to drill for marginal

coalbed methane when larger deposits are elsewhere. In the Powder River Basin alone, the industry is proposing the development of 50,000 new wells. This number clearly highlights the harmful inefficiency of coalbed methane drilling. Each well requires miles of roads and

power lines that despoil the landscape and threaten local wildlife. In contrast, Saudi Arabia, which has more than 10 times the natural gas, as well as billions more gallons of oil, has only about 1,000 oil and gas wells in the entire country. Meanwhile the U.S. government agencies normally responsible for protecting the land now serve as customer service organizations for the mining companies.

The Language Conundrum

Across the United States, cities like Gillette face similar threats from Bush policies. But to listen to the rhetoric of the administration you'd never know it. When wildfires ripped across California in November, it was quick to call upon Congress to pass the Healthy Forests Initiative, claiming it would speed up the clearing of brush-clogged forests near homes. In the words of the administration, "The President's Healthy Forests Initiative is returning the nation's forests to their natural condition by reducing unnecessary regulatory obstacles that hinder active forest management." The administration poses the problem as one of regulatory burden and obstructionism by environmentalists, yet according to research conducted by Paul Rogers of the *San Jose Mercury News*, U.S. Forest

But Wait, There's More

President George W. Bush's has a long environmental record sheet

WITHDREW from Kyoto Accords, the international global warming mitigation agreement

FAILED to list even one additional species to the endangered species act, the only president who has since 1 passed in 1973

EXEMPTED hundreds of oil and gas projects from environmental review

SUPPORTED defiling the Superfund program, passed in 1980 to clean up toxic waste

NEGOTIATED out of court "settlements" that allow government to protect areas that

Service records show that in the four national forests in Southern California that burned in early November, environmentalists had not filed a single appeal to stop Forest Service tree-thinning projects to reduce fire risk since at least 1997. In April of 2003, California Gov. Gray Davis requested \$430 million to remove unhealthy trees on 415,000 acres of California forest, but the request for emergency funds went unanswered by the Bush administration until the end of October—and then was denied. If the administration were serious about making communities near forests safer, it would have put forward to fund to clear brush and overgrowth on the urban-forest boundary. Instead it has proposed to fund such projects by giving logging companies access to old-growth trees and paying them for brush clearing. To the administration, a healthy forest is a forest robbed of its old-growth trees, one that bears more resemblance to a Christmas tree farm than to a wild forest.

If the intention behind the Healthy Forests Initiative is to allow logging companies an excuse to cut America's last old-growth forests, then it's not surprising that the administration's Clear Skies Initiative will do as much

tion-control technology. More than three decades later, these plants are still polluting, largely because they've been illegally repaired and upgraded without enhancing their pollution-control devices. The federal government filed suit against these power companies during the Clinton administration. Once Bush was elected, power companies began working to roll back the Clean Air Act regulations and to halt the settlement negotiations that were already under way.

With this in mind, it's not surprising to learn that the power companies are major contributors to the Republican Party and had access to Cheney's energy task force. The Edison Electric Institute, an industry trade group with members who are Clean Air

Act violators, had more than 10 contacts with the Cheney task force and contributed nearly \$600,000 to the Republican Party from 1999 to 2002.

Coalbed methane development, the Healthy Forests Initiative, and the Clear Skies proposal are three examples of the Bush administration's efforts to undo 30 years of environmental progress. Unlike previous attacks on the nation's environmental laws—by



JOE RAEDLE / GETTY

Attacks on the environment are made in front of scenic backdrops and couched in flowery language while the real agendas are hammered out behind closed doors.

for clean air as George Bush has done for international diplomacy. The Clear Skies Initiative is the most extensive revision of the Clean Air Act in 13 years. The plan would allow power plants to emit more than five times as much mercury, twice as much sulfur dioxide, and more than one and a half times as much nitrogen oxides as the current Clean Air Act allows.

The Clean Air Act of 1970 is responsible for many of the improvements in air quality that America has seen over the past three decades. The skies over most cities are cleaner, and after the work of the Clinton administration, there remained only a few remaining hurdles to overcome before the main goals of the act would have been achieved.

One of the compromises made when the Clean Air Act was passed allowed a few existing power plants the right to continue to operate without new pollution controls. The act's authors knew that without major repairs the plants eventually would be decommissioned. The law stated that if major repairs were undertaken, the old polluting power plants would need to employ state-of-the-art pollu-

Ronald Reagan's Secretary of the Interior James Watt and by Newt Gingrich—these attacks are made in front of scenic backdrops and with flowery language while the real agendas are hammered out behind closed doors. It takes an expert in decoding the Bush administration's double-speak to differentiate the Bush-Cheney 2004 Web site from the Sierra Club's. But the Bush policies are like week-old sushi advertised as fresh fish. The media has faithfully reported the names of the Bush administration's bills—Healthy Forests, Clear Skies—without exposing the irony to the public.

In the end, Leavitt was overwhelmingly approved by the Senate for the post of EPA administrator, despite the fact that he did not reject any of the Bush administration's environmental policies. Democrats on Capitol Hill pounded their chests for a while, and then quietly approved him. Leavitt now intends to bring more "balance" to a relationship that is already skewed toward corporate interests. No one at the hearings bothered to ask why the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency would set his goal as balance rather than protection. ■

PROPOSED outsourcing National Park Service employees.

INCREASED snowmobile use in Yellowstone National Park.

WEAKENED New Source Review protections in the Clean Air Act.

"CLARIFIED" wetlands rules to weaken wetland protection.

SIMPLIFIED the process for getting an oil-drilling permit on federal lands.

CUT the budgets for EPA officials; also stopped providing cell phones.

LIFTED a ban on the sale of PCB-contaminated land, even through PCBs are directly linked to cancer and neurological problems.

environment

Each of the Democratic candidates would do a superior job to President Bush at stewarding the environment. But will they get the chance? Polls show that while Americans care deeply about the environment, it's far below their top priorities: job creation and the economy. Democrats would be smart to talk about clean energy investments leading to good union jobs. Here's an overview of candidate positions. —Adam Werbach



CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN

Calling herself the "Ethanol Queen," she has said that the "choice" between jobs and the environment is false. She has a solid environmental voting record in the Senate but has not made environmental issues a core part of her candidacy.



WESLEY CLARK

He speaks eloquently about investing in environmental technology for job creation and patriotically describes his environmental leadership in the Army. But he has a thin public record on the environment.



HOWARD DEAN

Nick-named L.L. Dean, as Vermont governor he worked to preserve 1 million acres from development, fought air pollution from power plants and closed more than 70 of the state's leaky landfills. If elected president he plans to support the Renewable Portfolio Standard of 20 percent and plans to invest \$100 billion in renewable energy. On the downside, he supports storing the nation's nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain, Nevada, and talks about the environment separate from economic issues.



JOHN EDWARDS

He has been a leader in the fight against increased air pollution from the Bush administration's rollback of the Clean Air Act, and his 20-year history as a class-action attorney makes him a passionate advocate for people suffering from lax environmental policies. Environmental issues, however, have not been at the center of his campaign.



DICK GEPHARDT

He launched the Apollo Project—a \$200 billion renewable energy investment program that will create millions of jobs. Gephardt passionately attacks the president's environmental policies, and his deep contacts in the labor movement could earn environmental issues new fans.



JOHN KERRY

He is a long-time Senate environmental leader. He received the highest League of Conservation Voters Lifetime record (96 percent) of any of the major presidential candidates. He led the Senate effort against drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and has a strong investment plan to transform the American car industry toward producing low-pollution cars. If elected he will promote a "Conservation covenant" that will put all royalties from natural resources taken from public lands back into the national park system. He attended the Earth Summit in Rio, where he met his wife. He does not, however, support the Cape Wind Project in Massachusetts because of beachfront-owning constituents.



DENNIS KUCINICH

He is widely known for blocking an electric utility monopoly as the mayor of Cleveland, saving the city \$200 million. He has been a steady environmental leader in the House of Representatives. He is a strong advocate for clean water and opposes privatization of public water systems. He supports a Global Green Deal to share renewable energy technology with every nation on the planet.



JOSEPH LIEBERMAN

He is a dedicated environmental defender in the Senate and as the former attorney general for Connecticut has a long record of environmental advocacy. He is co-author of the McCain-Lieberman Climate Stewardship Act—the first major congressional vote on global warming in more than five years.



AL SHARPTON

He advocates for investments to create jobs by building hybrid and electric vehicles, but his other environmental policy details are thin. ■

CONTACT THE CANDIDATES

www.carolforpresident.com, www.clark04.com, www.deanforamerica.com, www.johnedwards2004.com, www.dickgephardt2004.com, www.johnkerry.com, www.kucinich.us, www.joe2004.com, www.al2004.org

BIOPROSPECTING

*Corporations profit
from indigenous genes*

By Jeff Shaw

You can't own a Hagahai man from Papua New Guinea, not even if you're a scientist. As a scientist you can, however, have part of him delivered to your door for \$200 plus \$81.50 in shipping and handling.

When you call the American Type Culture Collection and ask for CRL-10528, you'll get this man's "cell line"—a group of human cells that contains an individual's complete genetic code. Remarkably, that his genome can be found only in this way reflects a victory: His cell line was Patent No. 5,397,696 until international protests forced the U.S. government to drop its claim, in part because his cell line was taken without consent.

Companies have two incentives to secure patents, which confer exclusive use rights over genetic material: Any profits from drugs developed through patented data go directly to the holder, and any future researcher wishing to use patented data typically must pay a royalty fee. This is true even in cases like that involving the Hagahai people in which genetic material was taken without their consent.

A genetically engineered future has consequences for everyone. But this is especially true for native people.

According to the U.N. Development Program, 80 percent of the world's remaining biodiversity is located in indigenous territories. And the people who live there are thought to offer "narrow" gene pools—or distinct populations that can facilitate genetic study.

But a disjuncture between native belief and Western science also occurs at the most basic level: Many native people hold



Debra Harry

that all life is sacred. And to remove part of it, even a blood sample, can restrict one's ability to pass into the next stage of life.

"There's no natural fit there," says Debra Harry, a Northern Paiute Indian and executive director of the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism (IPCB), a nonprofit watchdog organization.

Deepening the concern over genetic study is a lack of standards. In many cases DNA has been obtained and patented without prior approval or a full understanding of what is at work. Private companies are the most active gene hunters. But they are not subject to strict federal regulatory and oversight guidelines if they don't take public dollars. Additionally, if a cell line helps develop the next Viagra, nothing forces these companies to share proceeds with the person from whom the genetic information came. In other words, private companies can go onto reservations without disclosing what they're doing, take DNA samples without saying why, get rich from the information, and not share the bounty with its often impoverished source.

"All over the world, indigenous peoples have been able to maintain our culture and exist despite the negative effects of colonization," says Tom Goldtooth,

director of the Indigenous Environmental Network. "We have some strong genes. Our genetic pool is something that scientists in industry are interested in."

"Our organization is very cautious of any market-based solution for trade in pharmaceuticals," he adds. "I don't trust [indigenous genetic] information being held by systems outside our community, systems that have never been accountable."

No consent obtained

A long history of colonization has created particular sensitivity among indigenous peoples to issues of honesty, respect and consent, and these feelings intensify when research subjects are duped. Judy Gobert, of Blackfeet, Nakota, and Salish descent and chairwoman of the IPCB board, has a background in microbiology and biochemistry and formerly conducted research into HIV. But when she gave birth to her first child in 1989, she unwittingly became part of a federal study on maternal transmission of HIV.

Fetal blood from every baby born in Indian Health Services hospitals at the time was tested for the disease—without informing the mother. Gobert didn't find out she'd been a research subject until the study was released two years later.

"In Indian Country, we were scared to death of AIDS at the time. We would have gladly participated in the study if they'd asked us," says Gobert, now director of the Indigenous Research Center, a health advocacy organization.

Native people in the United States aren't the only ones who face these issues. British Columbia's Nuu-chah-nulth tribe gave hundreds of blood samples in the early '80s for an arthritis study and were shocked to learn two decades later that the researcher had kept nearly 1,000 vials of their blood for use in future work—for which tribal members had not granted permission.

Tribes rarely benefit

With or without consent, Indian communities rarely benefit from genetic studies. In the HIV study, for instance, no research subject was told if her child had the virus despite knowledge that early treatment increases life expectancy.

The question of who benefits goes deeper. Gobert contends that emphasizing DNA as an answer itself shortchanges indigenous people: Treating genetics as a silver bullet for disease often comes at the expense of funding treatment and prevention strategies that are more proven to work.

"Now we have this new breed of magic potion salesman, only they're called genetic engineers," Gobert says. "They're saying 'we can cure diabetes, we can cure heart disease.' But people, native and non-native, are seeing that many of these diseases are lifestyle diseases, not genetic diseases."

The gene chase diverts attention away from what is desperately needed in indigenous communities: Prevention, the organization argues, is the best way to reduce Indian Country's deadly and debilitating diabetes epidemic; lifestyle education could fight heart disease and hypertension; addiction treatment programs for alcoholism can halt more alcohol abuse than a search for some "binge-drinking gene."

This isn't to say genetic science could never benefit tribes. Lisa Brooks, director of the genetic variation program at the National Institutes of Health, disavows genetic determinism—the notion that genes make up all of who we are—but says DNA research has potential.

"The goal is to understand the gene process in a way that allows you to intervene," Brooks says. "If you can find a gene that affects diabetes, that gives you insight into how the disease works. Finding a gene helps you understand how

genes and environmental contributions interact to produce a disease."

That's far from a sure thing, Brooks acknowledges. Scientists have known about the variant gene that causes sickle-cell anemia, a painful and usually fatal blood disorder affecting one in 12 African Americans, for decades without producing a cure.

Concessions called for

Though genes guarantee nothing, DNA patent applications continue to explode, especially among U.S. corporations. Lawrence Rausch of the National Science Foundation says 7,810 "international patent families"—items protected by patent in more than one country—for human DNA sequences were issued between 1980 and 1999. Of those, the United States secured 5,610. That's 72 percent of the total and nearly 5,000 more than its closest competitor, Japan. Over 400 American corporations applied for patents, more than twice the number from Japan and the unified European Patent Office combined.

Like gold miners before them, gene prospectors stake claims over parts of the human genome in the hopes of hitting the financial mother lode. "It's about money now—it's not about the science," says Gobert.

Several Indian nations have responded by passing anti-bioprospecting laws. The Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes adopted a resolution in 1998 severely restricting genetic research on their Montana reservation. The resolution declared, "Scientific research and genetic exploitation of indigenous peoples represents the greatest threat to American Indians since the European colonization of the Americas."

Other tribes have followed suit, using a "model law" developed by the IPCB as a template.

Some would just as soon be subjected to no genetic research whatsoever. Among those who don't rule out the prospect, two fundamental demands emerge:

Informed consent: Glossing over what research involves or taking consent as a given, including so-called "secondary uses" of samples like the Nuu-chah-nulth blood, represents profound disrespect. When asked if gaining prior and full approval makes a difference to native people, Gobert replies simply, "Oh, God, yes."

Meaningful and binding consultation:

This matters so much to U.S. native leaders that they elicited a 1998 presidential executive order reaffirming an obligation to consult tribal governments "on matters that significantly or uniquely affect their communities."

Working at the ground level with tribes and tribal governments has been effective for Indian people and researchers alike. Gobert cites the work of researcher Dr. James Jarvis with the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center as example. Jarvis is working with tribes to improve diagnosis and treatment of rheumatoid arthritis, one of the most common debilitating conditions affecting Indian people. Indigenous people aren't opposed to research, Gobert says, and support "valid DNA studies" like this that are "of value to people, and being done sensitively" in cooperation with tribal councils and affected communities.

"It's not that we're against science," Gobert says. "We see science as a tool—a tool to preserve our land, our water, our air, our plants—not as a weapon, not as a way to make money. So we have a different view of science than the majority of the Western world." ■

Jeff Shaw is an award-winning journalist who writes extensively on indigenous peoples and the environment.



By David Moberg

CARRYING PUPPETS AND placards, several hundred union members and community activists gathered on Nov. 1 in a lot across from the rambling Brach's candy factory on Chicago's economically bleak west side. They were protesting the company's decision to shut down the plant, which provided about 1,000 decently paid, unionized jobs, and move production to Mexico. The plant seemed like another tombstone in the graveyard of lost jobs.

Later that week the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that after 28 months of shrinking employment, the longest stretch on record, the unemployment rate dropped to 6 percent. It was good news, but not as good as it seemed: The unemployment rate would be 7.4 percent, according to the Economic Policy Institute, if it reflected discouraged workers no longer looking for jobs.

It is even bleaker for factory workers, like those at Brach's. Since the recession officially began in March 2001, 2.4 million of the 2.8 million jobs lost have been in manufacturing.

This has not been a typical recession or recovery. Low interest rates and big budget deficits have only weakly stimulated the economy, mainly because Bush's economic policies were designed to give tax breaks to the rich, rather than help low-income workers, the unemployed and financially strapped states. More than in past recessions, many jobs are gone forever, with an estimated 15 to 35 percent outsourced overseas—part of the reason the nation's trade deficit continues to rise to record levels.

The manufacturing jobs crisis creates political problems for Bush in key Midwestern and Southern states. But his politically motivated responses—a new quota on some Chinese textiles, a likely attempt to circumvent the World Trade Organization ruling against steel tariffs—are no substitute for the profound changes needed in policy on trade, management of the economy, and regulation of corporations and financial markets.

In all advanced economies, manufacturing represents a declining share of jobs and gross domestic product (GDP), but



Manufacturing Discontent

in the United States it accounts for only 14 percent of GDP as opposed to about 21 percent in Japan and Germany. Most economists, including Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan, argue that disappearing manufacturing jobs are nothing to worry about. As demand for products and services picks up, the reasoning goes, businesses will hire the displaced workers at a higher skill and pay level as less-skilled jobs move overseas.

But the real world doesn't work so smoothly. Displaced U.S. workers on average earn 13 percent less when they find a new job, and getting rehired takes a long time for workers who are older, have less education, or live in hard-hit communities. Global Insight, a forecasting firm, predicts that new jobs created in the forthcoming recovery will pay on average 82 percent of those lost in the recession, as the economy sheds manufacturing jobs for lower paid service employees. Workers as a whole will be earning \$26 billion a year less, even when employment returns to pre-recession levels.

Over the past three decades managerial and college-educated white-collar workers captured most pay gains, but now many of those technical jobs—such as engineering, software design and medical diagnosis—are moving offshore, depressing wages in those fields and diminishing high-skilled options for retrained factory workers.

In the early '80s, manufacturing was battered by deep recessions and an overvalued dollar that made U.S. exports expensive and imports cheap. When rich countries agreed in 1985 to lower the value of the dollar, the huge trade deficits declined. U.S. manufacturers that survived became more competitive by boosting productivity through investment and reorganization and by driving down wages.

In the mid-'90s the combined strength of the U.S. economy and weakness in Japan and Europe drove up the value of the dollar, as did the stock market bubble that followed. The inflated (and often illegally exaggerated) profits of financial businesses and new service giants like Enron put pressure on publicly traded manufacturers to boost profits to match. New trade agreements like NAFTA made it even more attractive for American corporations to shift investment overseas. From 1993 to 2002, 880,000 jobs or job opportunities were eliminated in the United States as foreign investment in Mexico soared by 435 percent, according to a new study by EPI economist Robert Scott. At the same time, China, Malaysia and Taiwan tied the value of their currencies to the dollar, making their exports cheap and widening America's trade deficit. The U.S. trade deficit with China last year hit a record \$103 billion, nearly a quarter of the total.

The overall trade deficit rose from less than 1 percent of GDP

Bush will have to work hard to overcome 2.4 million lost factory jobs

in the early '90s to an anticipated 5 percent for this year, a level nearly everyone agrees can't be sustained. In order to get back down to a trade deficit of 1 percent of GDP, economists estimate that the dollar will have to be devalued by 20 to 40 percent. (China also needs to revalue upward its currency. Yet for its stability and that of the world economies, it should reject the Bush administration advice that it allow its currency to float freely in the global financial market.) The choice facing American policy makers is to manage the dollar's decline now or wait for crisis to strike, brought on by an abrupt drop in the dollar, leading to higher U.S. interest rates and recession.

Once transferred out of the country, factories do not easily return. "Some jobs will never come back. The high dollar pushed them overseas," says EPI economist Josh Bivens. "Will we have the capacity to export our way out of the trade deficit even in a good scenario? I think our trade deficit has gotten so enormous that supply-side constraints could bite even if the demand side improved. That would mean even greater devaluation would be necessary."

Manufacturers in the United States also suffer crippling disadvantages compared to other industrial nations because the country has no national health insurance to control costs and

lacks adequate programs to train workers. Bad trade deals, which do not raise world labor and environmental standards, also undermine U.S. manufacturing.

Cheap labor will lure some businesses, but much of the comparative advantage in international trade these days results from public policies, not labor markets. With a few exceptions, like Bush's limited but somewhat stabilizing steel tariffs, U.S. public policies have favored the financial sectors and wealth holders, even though manufacturing remains the key to productivity growth, technical innovation and global trade. Neglecting manufacturing affects more than blue-collar workers. As *Industry Week* recently reported, scientific research and technical design is following the shop floor overseas.

Businesses outsource offshore because of their own strategic decisions, not only because of faulty public policies. "There was no need for [Brach's] to go offshore," says Dan Swinney, executive director of the Center for Labor and Community Research (CLCR), that fought to keep the candy company in Chicago for 13 years and now is pushing local governments to pursue high-wage, high-skill manufacturers for the site. Since Swiss magnate Klaus Jacobs bought Brach's in 1987, the company has gone through unending tumult: It was frequently bought and sold, merged and spun off, placed under new managers, and subjected to swings of market strategy. The company, which faced little import competition, declined offers from groups like CLCR to train employees and rejected worker offers to buy the plant. It blamed workers, wages, high domestic sugar prices and an old plant for its problems, even though most competitors faced similar conditions. Unlike Brach's, some companies have chosen "high road" strategies. When a Mexican company recently offered another Chicago candy maker, American Licorice, to produce its main product more cheaply, it accepted job training and technical help from non-profit groups that permitted it to remain in place and to beat the Mexican price.

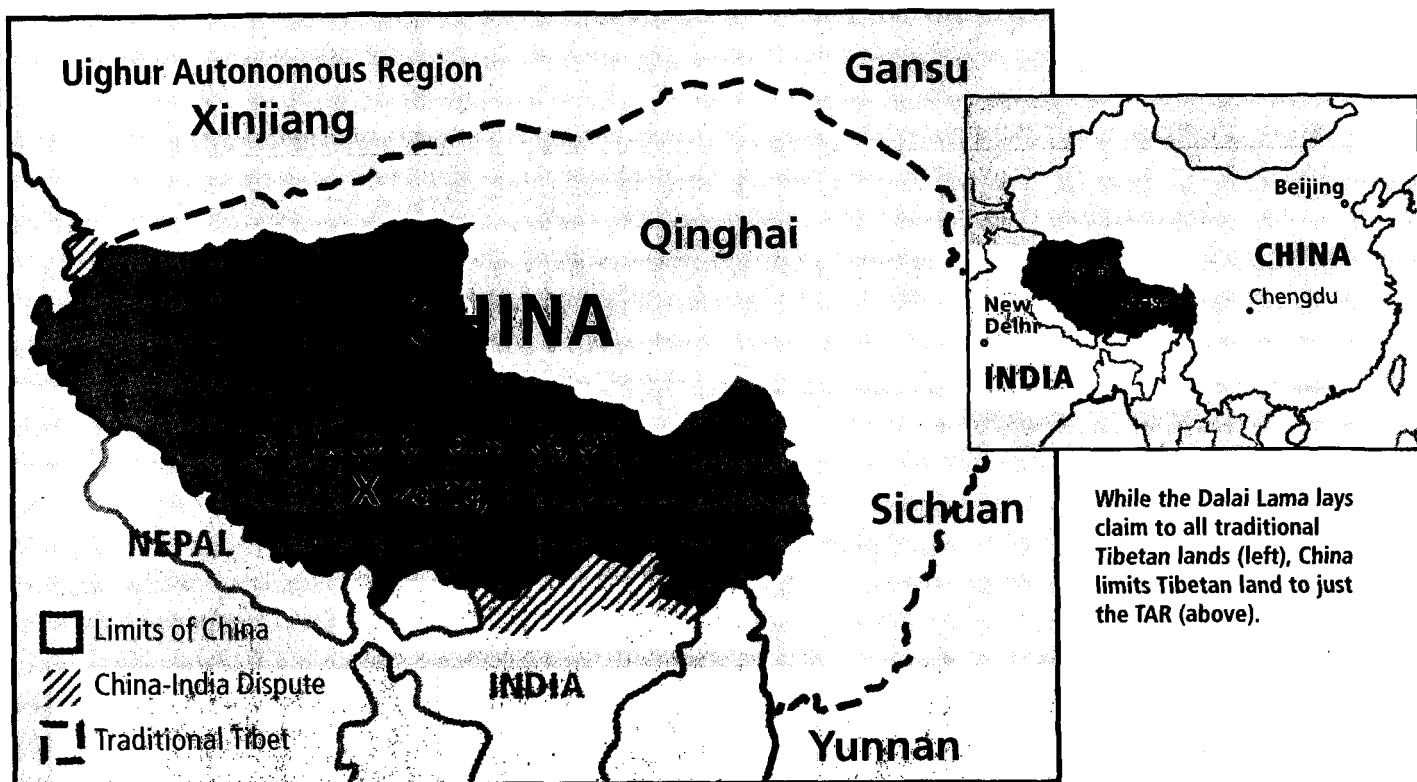
To encourage businesses to adopt high-road strategies—rather than to reduce wages, break unions and flee overseas—government needs to drastically reform regulation of financial markets and make corporations more accountable to workers, communities and other shareholders.

Heading into the election, Bush faces an energized labor movement along with a growing rebellion of conservative, traditionally Republican businesspeople over the collapse of manufacturing, especially in the battleground states of the industrial Midwest. If Democratic candidates embrace a future-oriented, high-road strategy for manufacturing, they may be able to turn what are likely to remain bad numbers on jobs into good numbers at the polls. ■

EVENTS

National Summit on Petropolitics
January 6, 7 & 8
Washington DC
www.petropolitics.org

A citizens' conference for education and action on oil and its relationship to politics and power. Featuring workshops and speakers on oil's impact on our economy, our jobs, our environment, our security and our government.



Tibet's Gamble

Can the Dalai Lama's China talks succeed? By Jehangir Pocha

They had waited for him since dawn, sun-drenched along an uneven mountain road. But when the Dalai Lama's motorcade swept by, his passing wave left many vaguely disenchanted.

Officials had warned that he would not be stopping; nevertheless, disappointment is hard to accept from a man many consider a god.

Now, as the 68-year-old Dalai Lama engages in talks with the Chinese government on the future of Tibet, there is a deepening sense of foreboding that he is falling short.

Last September, after intense secret negotiations, a personal emissary of the Dalai Lama met with the Chinese government in Beijing for the first time since 1959. A second meeting followed in May this year.

Many of Tibet's 110,000 exiles see this as progress toward their return home. But others are irked by how much the Dalai Lama has conceded just to get a seat at the table.

His Holiness, as the Dalai Lama is universally called here, has dropped Tibet's demand for independence from China in return for autonomy. There are also indications that Tibetans might accept this autonomy over a limited part of Tibet.

Long before Communist China's army entered Tibet in the early 1950s, vast tracts of Tibetan land had been absorbed by China into regions such as Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan. In 1959, when the Dalai Lama fled to India, China gained control over what was left of Tibet and in 1965 turned this area into a province called the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

The Dalai Lama now lays claim to all traditional Tibetan land, both TAR and the areas seized by China. But many say this demand is unrealistic and he should be flexible.

A Cornered Dog May Bite

But not everyone is happy with the concessions being made to the Chinese.

"You cannot give up the independence of Tibet. Anyone who tries this is making a mistake," says Kalsang Godrupka Phuntsok, president of the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC). With 20,000 members, the TYC is the largest NGO within the Tibetan community and is critical of the Dalai Lama's "middle path" diplomacy.

Sitting in the TYC's spartan headquarters, Phuntsok says: "The negotiations mean nothing. The Chinese cannot be

Anarchy in the U.S.A

By Jefferson Decker

On September 6, 1901, President William McKinley visited Buffalo, N.Y., for the Pan-American Exposition, a celebration of the United States' emergence as an industrial and imperial power. Around 4 p.m., McKinley entered the Temple of Music, a building on the fairgrounds, to greet the public. A few minutes later, Secret Service agent George Foster noticed a "dark complexioned man with a black moustache" in the crowd near the president. As Foster's eyes settled on the black man—"I didn't like his general appearance," the agent later explained—another visitor stepped forward from the crowd. Pale and slender, he held a pistol concealed under a white bandage. He fired two shots into the president from close range. One week later, McKinley died.

In *Murdering McKinley*, historian Eric Rauchway argues that the assassination of William McKinley by a self-described anarchist, Leon Czoglosz, had far-reaching social consequences. In coming to terms

Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America
By Eric Rauchway
Hill and Wang
250 pages, \$25

with this national trauma, American opinion-makers faced up to some of the consequences of the country's rapid industrialization: inequalities of wealth, overcrowding of cities, massive immigration. And they developed new public policies, from regulations of industry to school reforms, as a result.

The authorities "tried the assassin, executed him, dropped him in a grave, and poured sulfuric acid over his body," Rauchway writes, "but they could not forget the brutal lesson he had taught." In McKinley's violent death, a new political

era—what Rauchway calls Theodore Roosevelt's America—was born.

A former congressman and governor of Ohio, William McKinley embodied the social and political conservatism of the Republican Party at the end of the 19th



President McKinley was shot at the Pan-American Exposition's Temple of Music.

century. A longtime ally of big business, he made his name in politics by sponsoring protective tariffs and defending gold currency against populist agitation for a looser money supply. In 1896, he campaigned for president from his front porch while his Democratic opponent, William Jennings Bryan, stormed about the country. In his first term, McKinley delivered for his supporters in finance and industry. An economic boom boosted profits and the Spanish-American War gave the United States new imperial possessions, with new markets and natural resources to exploit. In 1900, McKinley became the first U.S. president in 28 years to win a consecutive term.

Despite political success, McKinley had critics. Industrialization spawned great fortunes, but it also created a massive class of low-paid workers. In the 1880s and 1900s workers launched a series of violent strikes and a radical labor movement emerged. McKinley was anything but neutral during these conflicts, and his firm alliance with bankers and industrialists generated enemies. The cartoonist Homer Davenport drew McKinley as a marionette being manipulated by men who wore dol-

lar signs on their suits.

After Kentucky governor-elect William Goebel was murdered in 1900, Ambrose Bierce expressed the national mood in eerie verse: "The bullet that pierced Goebel's breast/Can not be found in all the West; / Good reason, it is speeding here/To stretch McKinley on his bier."

When the bullet came, McKinley's friends and allies denied that any rational motive could account for it. The new president, Theodore Roosevelt, insisted that anarchism "is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than wife-beating or pick-pocketing." Its advocates, he said, have "perverted instincts" and prefer "confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order." McKinley was not a captain of industry but a life-long public servant, he added. Why target him?

In Czoglosz's Buffalo courtroom, lawyers followed Roosevelt's lead. Rather than discuss any motives Czoglosz might have had, they argued whether the defendant was responsible for his delusions. Court-appointed attorney Loran L. Lewis tried to save Czoglosz's life with an insanity defense. Lewis noted that Czoglosz lacked "any animosity against our President ... any personal motive" and wondered, "[C]ould a man, with a sane mind, perform such an act?"

The prosecution countered that Czoglosz was "a product of anarchism, sane and responsible." Those became the two poles of respectable political debate. The most prominent exception was the assassin himself, who remained unrepentant. "McKinley was going around the country shouting about prosperity when there was no prosperity for the poor man," he explained. By shooting the president, he insisted, "I only done my duty."

Although Roosevelt never reversed his opinions about anarchists, he began to endorse, by implication, a contradictory explanation of the killing—that Czoglosz's deed was evidence that something was wrong. Even as Roosevelt mocked the idea that one could pin McKinley's assassination on "social dis-

T DART WALKER, c.1905 / LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

content," he immediately asked Congress to address the "very serious social problems" stemming from "tremendous and highly complex industrial development." He called for government regulation of banking, currency and the railroads, among other reforms.

According to Rauchway, Roosevelt's mixed feelings get at the complicated nature of reform politics in the early 20th century. Rather than an expression of class identity or political interest, progressivism was "a belief about human nature and modern environment, as revealed in one's own experience." It acknowledged that the complexity of life under industrial capitalism made it harder for individuals to control their fate. In response, progressives tried to build a healthy social environment—clean streets, open spaces, decent schools—in American cities. They shared the part of the anarchist critique that suggested "a sick environment develops sick inhabitants." But they rejected the anarchist implications of the argument—that industrial capitalism must therefore be destroyed.

Rauchway makes this argument through a herky-jerky, out-of-order narrative, which begins at the Pan-American Exposition, travels backward into Czoglosz's youth and eventually jumps forward to an attempted assassination of Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. In addition to McKinley, Roosevelt, Czoglosz and his lawyers, Rauchway introduces readers to a variety of prominent and obscure Americans who were dragged into press accounts of the assassination story. National figures Jane Addams, Jacob Riis and Emma Goldman appear, as does James Parker, a Buffalo waiter briefly known as the "Negro who saved McKinley" for helping to wrestle Czoglosz to the ground.

In eager, excitable prose, Rauchway identifies an important truth: Dramatic acts of public violence can have substantial if unpredictable public consequences. That said, the connection between McKinley's assassination and political change is not completely evident. There were other reasons for reform—labor unrest, realignment of political parties, consequences of empire, social activism and business interest. Given that Rauchway often alludes to the present by describing a "war on anarchism" and referring to potential bomb-throwers as "evildoers," I don't mind using the irritat-

ing current parlance: Did the assassination "change everything"? Or did it simply provide a Rorschach test of beliefs?

For a few people, at least, Rauchway shows how the McKinley assassination could mean a great deal. Besides Roosevelt, the central progressive in this book is Lloyd Vernon Briggs, a young Boston doctor fascinated with the matter of Czoglosz's sanity. Briggs traveled to Buffalo and Cleveland to track down anyone who had known the killer. Czoglosz, he eventually discovered, was born in Michigan to Polish-Catholic immigrants from Prussia. Never married, he worked as a glassmaker, in a wire mill and as a handyman on a family farm. While working at the wire mill, he became involved in organized labor and lost his job after a failed strike. He later joined, but eventually became disillusioned with, a Bellamyite socialist group. He traveled to Chicago, where he met Emma Goldman but failed to ingratiate himself with her circle of anarchist intellectuals. (They rebuffed him because he "asked foolish questions" and seemed like a spy.) Alienated from the industrial economy and the few open alternatives, he

made his way to Buffalo.

Briggs concluded that Czoglosz had to be insane, blaming a bad social environment for creating the resentment that fed his radicalism. But he argued that Czoglosz should have nevertheless developed an awareness of other people's rights that would have prevented him from pulling the trigger.

Rauchway comes to a fascinating conclusion of his own, which need not be divulged here. But he argues the question of the assassin's mental capacity is, finally, beside the point. Whatever the killer's mental state, the act of shooting McKinley followed a brutal logic; it was cruel for its rationality, not for its senselessness.

By understanding the horrible logic of political violence, one can find a path between the dead ends of incomprehension and rationalization. That path was as hard to identify in Roosevelt's America as it seems to be today. ■

Jefferson Decker is co-editor of *A Way Out: America's Ghettos and the Legacy of Racism* (Princeton University Press) and is a doctoral candidate in American history at Columbia University.

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Paradise Not

By William S. Lin

In last year's film *Punch Drunk Love*, a lovely scene takes place in an outdoor venue by the ocean in Honolulu. The camera glides through—capturing a female duo singing and strumming the classic song “Waikiki”—before settling on

Hotel Honolulu

By Paul Theroux
Mariner Books (paperback)
432 pages, \$14

Paradise Park

By Allegra Goodman
Delta Trade Paperbacks (paperback)
360 pages, \$12.95

Father of the Four Passages

By Lois-Ann Yamanaka
Picador USA (paperback)
240 pages, \$13

Hawaii

By James A. Michener
Random House Trade Paperbacks
960 pages, \$14.95

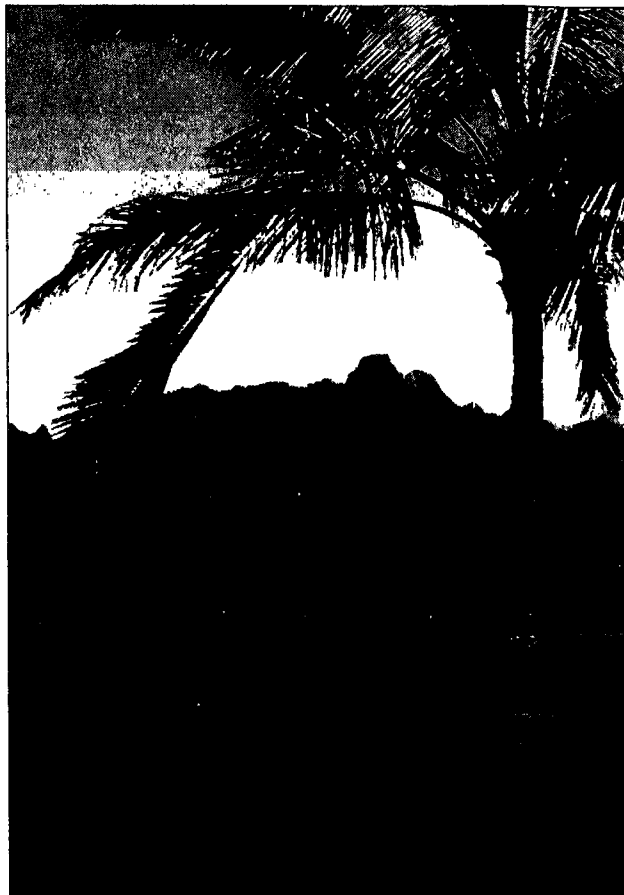
Adam Sandler and Emily Watson, beautifully lit with the iconic outline of Diamond Head, the famed volcanic crater, gleaming in the distance. The idyllic setting and atmosphere evoke the familiar image of Hawaii as a romantic paradise. And why not? The 50th state is the envy of every tourism bureau the world over, and the islands really *are* that beautiful. But peek beneath its sunny veneer and you might see transplants from the mainland clashing with locals over culture and language, with Hawaii's colonial past never far from view. Or you might see locals grappling with poverty and class distinction. In the last few years, several novels set in Hawaii remind us of these issues as they strip away the myth to produce a more nuanced portrait of the state.

In *Hotel Honolulu*, Paul Theroux depicts a Hawaii that is carnivalesque and seedy, filled with vivid, almost cartoonish characters. The narrator, an accom-

plished writer who flees to Hawaii and becomes the manager of a run-down Waikiki hotel, casts his observant eye upon the residents of Hawaii as well as its tourists, cataloging their peccadilloes and recording their stories from his perch in the hotel lobby.

The narrator is awed by the scenery when he arrives and ruminates on the “clear skies” and “dazzling” sunlight; studies the waves at Waikiki “gathering shape near the shore to whiten in peaks before sloping and softening,” and considers “the lips of the coastline” and “the gorgeous green pleats of the mountains.” Over time, he integrates himself into local society—marrying one of the hotel's housekeepers and having a daughter—yet he can't quite shed his barely concealed contempt for local culture: Hawaii is “literal-minded,” “a culture of grunts and mutters” and “the land of long pauses.” Its people are “as cruel and violent and crafty as people anywhere,” he complains, inarticulate and not attuned to sarcasm. Listening to the local Pidgin English (“just a slovenly and ungrammatical version” of English) is “like hearing birds squawking.”

Like Theroux's narrator, the protagonist Lin Allegra Goodman's *Paradise Park*, Sharon Spiegelman, arrives in Hawaii as a consummate outsider. Sharon flees the mainland and her estranged family with her boyfriend, Gary. When Gary runs off with another woman to Fiji, Sharon navigates this new territory on her own and



Peek beneath Hawaii's sunny veneer and you might see transplants from the mainland clashing with locals over culture and language, with Hawaii's colonial past never far from view.

embarks on a long spiritual journey. Because this journey takes her to Jerusalem and back to the mainland, Hawaii—as a setting—isn't as crucial to the narrative as it is in *Hotel Honolulu*. Yet *Paradise Park* offers another view of Hawaii, from the outside looking in.

In breezy and conversational prose, Goodman conveys Sharon's initial wonder at Hawaii's physical beauty. “I couldn't get over it. The greens were so green, the

blue sky so blue. The leaves, the clouds, even the mock orange bushes," says Sharon. "It was like everything on that island had just come out of the wash; it was like the trees were hanging out to dry."

When she attempts to make the transition from tourist to local, she feels a similar tension to Theroux's narrator. She lands a job at a local fast-food chain, and gets teased by her co-workers "since I was what they called a *haole*, which was an affectionate way of saying intruder and outsider and interloper."

She eventually adjusts to the local cuisine and lands a job at a Honolulu landmark store; still, she can't shake her mainland roots. When she develops a relationship with Kekui, a cook at the restaurant, his parents don't "approve of me because I was a mainland *haole*—white—which, no matter how you looked at me, you just couldn't get around." "Haole" isn't so affectionate here. And in Paradise Park's most stirring passage, Kekui's mother hurls a stream of insults: "Hippie girl, just 'cause you washed up here on Oahu you don't need to come invading my family. Go back to where you started—California, England, Holland or whatever nationality you are."

In Lois-Ann Yamanaka's novel *Father of the Four Passages*, protagonist Sonia Kurisu escapes her troubled childhood in Hilo and Honolulu by moving to Las Vegas. But her life isn't much improved in Sin City. After giving birth to Sonny Boy, later diagnosed as autistic, she fixates on the ghosts of the three babies she discarded back home: "A hospital's toxic-waste bin, a dirty toilet at Magic Island and a jelly jar buried outside my bedroom window." Yamanaka's gift lies in her ability to lay bare the unattractive underbelly of Hawaii and she possesses a sharp eye for class distinction and effectively conveys shame.

Known for her books composed mainly in Pidgin English, Yamanaka relies on Standard English in *Father*. At times, her language teeters between the poetic and the indecipherable. Sometimes the odd punctuation and italicization can be distracting, and in a few passages the prose moves in an uneven, stop-and-go rhythm. But at key moments, Yamanaka's stark language releases a hidden energy. In the epilogue, Sonia, her father and Sonny Boy climb Mauna Kea on the Big

Island: "Ten thousand feet above sea level, my ears start to hum, like the ringing of chimes in my head. My breath is short, my step measured. I hear no external sound. The landscape is volcanic and lunar, the sky, a canvas of pure blue." In contrast to Theroux and Goodman, who use scenery as a way to introduce the characters' initial awe at a new place, Yamanaka handles scenery as a salve, a spiritual corrective to all of Sonia's problems.

Through all the depressing subject matter, Yamanaka isn't afraid to showcase humor. In one scene, Sonia asks her alcohol-and-crack-addled lover in Las Vegas, Drake, about his recent artistic development: "How's the sweeping epic, Michener?" It's Sonia's verbal cut against Drake, but it's also Yamanaka's jab against James A. Michener, the prolific and mega-selling author of *Hawaii*, a sprawling novel first published in 1959. Recently reissued, *Hawaii* traces the history of the islands from their geologic origins through the creation of a multi-ethnic society.

Theroux, too, references Michener's famous book when the narrator finds an

early edition by the side of the hotel pool and dismisses it as nothing special. If Yamanaka and Theroux are acting out anxieties of influence, they're doing it not by politely repaying a literary debt but by cracking jokes at Michener's expense.

It may be reflex for high-art literary types to sniff at Oprah-esque narratives. But Michener personally recognized what Theroux and Yamanaka demonstrate in their work: Despite its astounding physical beauty, Hawaii was just as flawed a place as any other. Michener lived in Hawaii for a number of years to research and write his book. Two years after its publication, Michener left. "On the day-to-day operating level at which my wife and I lived," he said at the time, "we met with more racial discrimination in Hawaii than we did in eastern Pennsylvania, where we had previously lived." The irony might be lost on those who gaze in each other's eyes in Waikiki at sunset, but not on the recent novelists who gaze at Hawaii after the sun sets. ■

William S. Lin is a writer based in Brooklyn.

In Memoriam

Edward W. Said

1935–2003

PATHBREAKING SCHOLAR

COURAGEOUS ADVOCATE

PASSIONATE CRITIC

UNFAILING HUMANIST

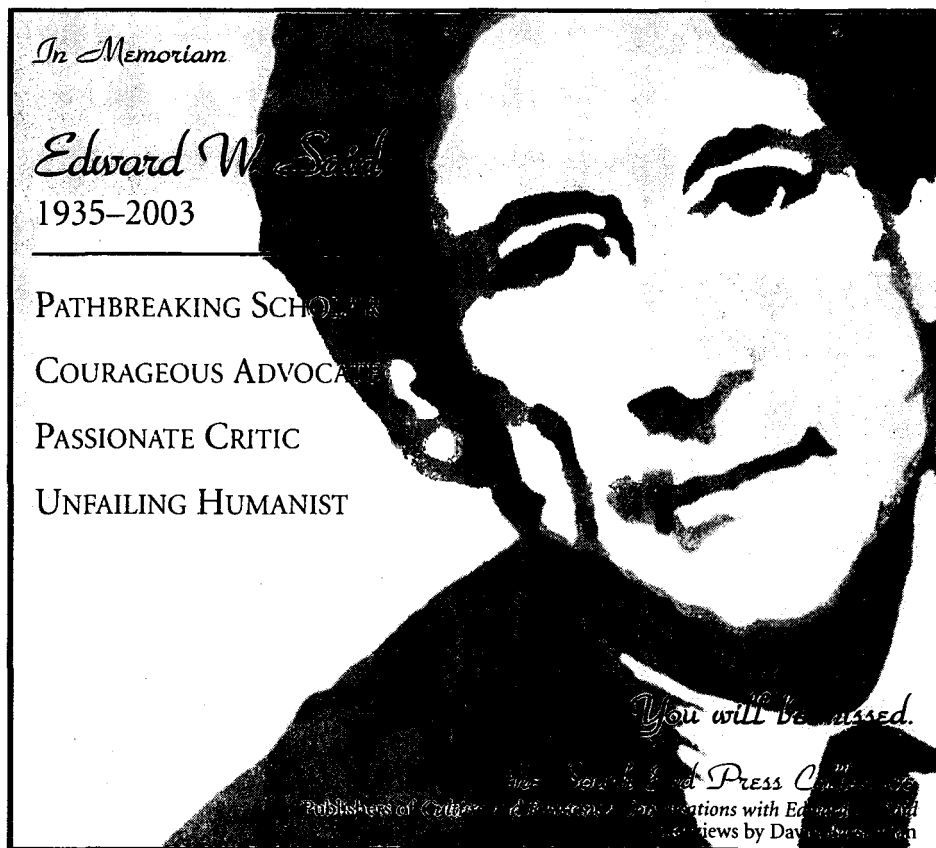


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BOOKS

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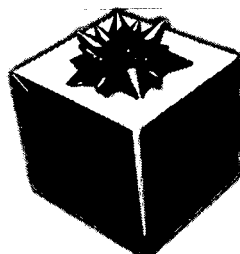
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Not once, not twice, but four times during a recent performance at the Annenberg Center here, Smith cants her head to the left and, pfwwt, does that thing that all those weathered metal subway signs tell you not to.

This is the first time I've seen Smith in concert, the first time I've shot her, and capturing her mid-expulsion becomes my brass ring for the night, but she consistently surprises me. I click away, and nod as a guard stationed at the edge of the stage frowns and whispers, "I didn't believe it the first time."

From some angles, particularly when she is wearing glasses, Smith resembles John Lennon, or perhaps one of the fussier denizens of *The Wind in the Willows*; from others, her white shirt poufing over her hip-slung trousers and freighting her frail frame with a deceptive corpulence, she looks like Joe Cocker, and her astonishingly small hands even ride the air in a series of gestures that, like his, hover between aggression and palsy.

Early in her career, she made no secret of her emulation of Keith Richards, but as she sings her mouth is pure Mick Jagger: prehensile and undulating, almost reptilian.

Smith didn't start performing until she was 25, an age at which many of today's pop stars find their careers are over, and didn't record her first album, *Horses*, until she was 29. She bailed a mere five years later, married guitarist Fred "Sonic" Smith of the MC5, moved to a Detroit suburb, had a couple of kids and devoted herself to raising them. She resurfaced in the mid-90s, widowed and wizened and waxing prolific. She released five albums in succession, doubling her discography and culminating in last year's retrospective *Land: An Anthology, 1975-2002*. Meanwhile, fashion designers from New York and London to Antwerp and Milan started outfitting female models in slouchy black menswear and citing Smith as their muse. She will turn 57 in December.

Her face is ravaged now, coarsened and bushy-browed; it doesn't register as pretty until she smiles, which I'm surprised to see she does quite often—between songs, to her bandmates and to her sister Kimberly, whom she invites onstage to play guitar after being startled by her entry to

the Green Room before the show. "You sounded just like Mom," Smith had said as she turned when her sister called her name from the doorway. Later in the show, Smith dedicates a song to another sister, Linda. There are many things that Smith has repudiated, but family is not one of them.

Smith's cover of the Van Morrison song "G-L-O-R-I-A" often is cited as evidence of her indiscriminate libertinism, but I'm not sure if she ever was truly bisexual or just didn't play up to men the way female rock stars are supposed to. Some cultural critics idealized Smith because they considered her in touch with her masculine side, but I've never been comfortable with the disassembling of self and the conscription of societal roles—feminine side, inner child, etc.—onto the individual psyche. No, this is what raw woman looks like, thinks like, sounds like; deal with it. Yes, Smith's mufti could mean she is adopting, co-opting the uniform of the ruling body. Or it could simply be that it's more comfortable to dress that way.

Smith is here in conjunction with an exhibit of her visual art at the Philadelphia Institute of Contemporary Art, the same museum that hosted Robert Mapplethorpe's retrospective in 1988 without fanfare or censure before it moved on to Cincinnati and scandalized Washington. "Strange Messenger: The Work of Patti Smith" premiered at the Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh last year and next opens at the Haus der Kunst in Munich in December. She is here on a break from recording a CD that will be released early in 2004. "This is my night off," she tells the audience.

Early in the set, Smith dedicates a new song to martyred activist Rachel Corrie, adding, "If you don't know who she is, I'll tell you later." She never does. At the end of the show, she segues from *The Declaration of Inde-*

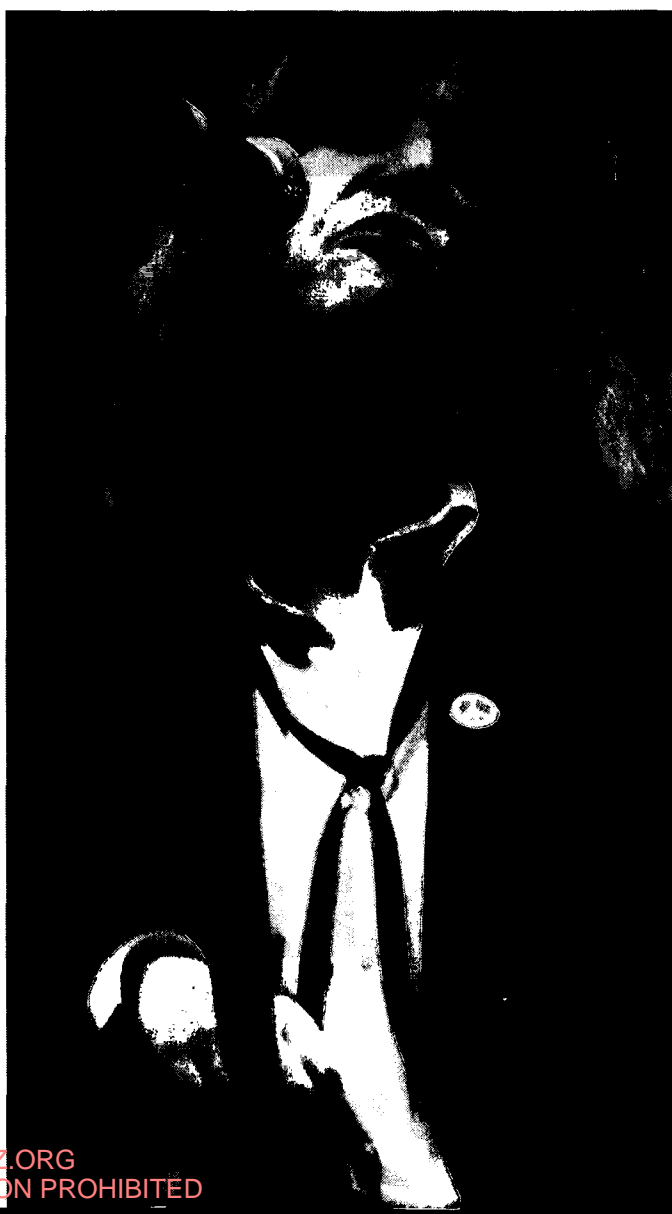
pendence into a litany of the atrocities of George W. Bush and glides into a rendition of "People Have the Power," a song that loaned its name to the tour she has been doing with Ralph Nader. As Smith's work has transitioned from the personal to the more overtly political, Nader has supplanted Mapplethorpe as her ideological consort.

She sings:

*I believe everything we dream
can come to pass through our union
we can turn the world around
we can turn the earth's revolution
we have the power
people have the power*

And then she sings. ■

Jody Kolodzey has previously written for *In These Times* on Billie Holiday and Nina Simone.



Patti Smith: Spit & Image

Photos and story by
Jody Kolodzey

PHILADELPHIA

Against an entertainment industry that seems so wedded to the cosmetics industry that a woman's face is likely to be the only thing she doesn't bare, Patti Smith's appearance is a shocker.

She is well-scrubbed without being wholesome, with a defiantly naked face that challenges prevailing notions of gender and beauty. She wears a single-breasted black suit jacket with a discreet peace button on the lapel and a small stain between the pocket and the hem on the left side. Her hair has the swingy movement of the freshly washed, but it is ripply, almost wild, neither straightened nor curled, devoid of what stylists refer to as "product." Although it shines the expected shade of black under the fluorescent lighting of the Green Room, the stage lights lift it to a pale brown, streaked with grey and haloed in blood red.

And she spits.

